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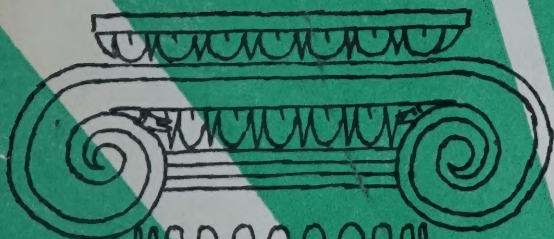
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THE AFRICAN IN THE UNIVERSITIES

SECOND EDITION

A Survey of the Facilities for the Higher Education of Non-European Students in South Africa, with an Examination of the Systems of University Segregation and Non-Segregation

Written on behalf of the

NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS

by

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Foreword

by DR. T. B. DAVIE

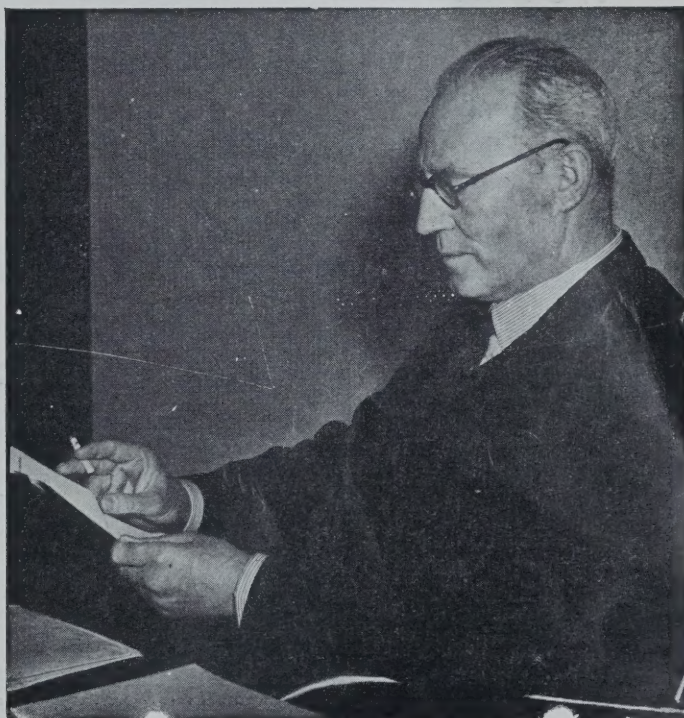
IN October, 1951, when the first edition of this pamphlet, *The African in The Universities*, was published by NUSAS, Dr. H. R. Raikes, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, wrote the foreword.

He drew attention to the fact that the production of this monograph was in the nature of a new development of the activities of NUSAS, and he welcomed it as an attempt "to make objective studies of important aspects of our national life."

This aim has been pursued by NUSAS since then; it has continued to give serious consideration to various national problems as they affect higher education and the student community, and this second edition of the first of its handbooks is proof of the value of its contribution to contemporary thought on one aspect of race relations in South Africa.

Today more even than in 1951 the place of the African in the Universities, and his access to higher education generally, is exercising the minds of the political, educational, industrial and social leaders in all parts of Africa. The granting of responsible government to the Gold Coast, the developments of Kenya and the East African dependencies, and the emergence of the Central African Federation have directed the limelight of public attention to the status, present activities and future policies of the Universities of Ibadan, Makerere and Salisbury, and the eyes of the whole world are at times focussed on South Africa in connection with the avowed intention of our political leaders to replace the present provision of university education for the African by one in which complete segregation of the non-white from the white student will be the main feature.

It is with this background of intensified interest, both local and abroad, in the problem of higher education for the African, that I welcome this edition of *The African in the Universities*, and I commend it to all who are seriously interested in the problems discussed for its factual value and for the responsible and tactful presentation of possible solutions.



Thos. B. Davie.

Thos. B. Davie, B.A., M.D., LL.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S.S.Af.,
Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town,
Hon. Vice-President and Hon. Life Member of NUSAS.

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Foreword

by DR. P. V. TOBIAS

THE speed with which the first edition of *The African in the Universities* was exhausted amply justified the NUSAS Executive's decision to produce in 1951 an authoritative survey, giving the facts and figures about the higher education of Africans in the Union. These facts and figures had never previously been available in collated form.

Now, three years have elapsed and the tempo of events in Southern Africa already demands a second edition, to which I am happy to write a Foreword.

The first edition was born of the need for the National Students' Union to testify before a Commission on "Native Education"; the second edition appears at a time when, daily, we expect the report of another Commission — "to investigate and report on the practicability and financial implications of providing separate training facilities for non-Europeans at Universities."

The report of the latter Commission may well have appeared by the time this publication rolls off the presses; but, no matter what its recommendations, the very establishment of such an enquiry shows how imminent and how threatening has become the pressure on the open Universities in the years between the Commissions.

The march of Africa has continued inexorably during those years, years which have witnessed the stirring of the Negroid peoples asserting their essential humanity, the establishment of multi-racial Universities in the new Central African Federation and in the Belgian Congo, and of the Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara, dedicated to the co-operative pursuit of African welfare through the advancement of knowledge.

There is a spirit of pan-Africanism abroad, and South Africa, as the most highly developed area of the Continent, has Continent-wide responsibilities. The Union should provide the doctors, the engineers, the scientists and the administrators for the length and breadth of Africa. To produce qualified men, conversant with the problems of Africa and the Africans, our Universities must become laboratories of race relations.

This is the mission of higher education in Africa of the second half of the 20th century. These are the new and urgent reasons why the multi-racial or open University is more than ever a dire necessity in South Africa today.

Yet, tragically for Africa and for human relations, all the trends and portents point the other way and the beacon light shining from the open Universities is faced with extinction.

Students have a real stake in all this, and NUSAS, with its own open membership, is in the forefront of the struggle to keep the lamps of liberty burning. To wage the struggle well, the National Union has ever followed the sure and steady line of seeking the facts, *then* propounding the policies. This work represents the results of devoted fact-seeking; and these are the facts upon which enlightened and far-seeing policies must be based.

May I commend to students and educationists, as well as to all those who cherish academic liberties, this handbook of the National Union of South African Students, in the hope that it may lead to a completer and more integrated participation of African and other non-white students in South African University life.

Phillip V. Tobias

Phillip V. Tobias, Ph.D., M.B., B.Ch., B.Sc. Hons.
Senior Lecturer in Anatomy, University of the Witwatersrand.
Hon. Vice-President and Hon. Life Member of NUSAS,
President of NUSAS, 1948-51.
Chairman of the Education League,

INTRODUCTION:

Some Preliminary Remarks on University Independence

SINCE the first edition of *The African in the Universities* was published in October, 1951, containing NUSAS' evidence to the Native Education Commission—the forerunner of the Bantu Education Act—events have moved fast in South Africa in the field of non-European higher education, and a considerable amount of new material has become available.

Encouraged by the warm response with which our first edition was greeted, and realising the need to bring our facts up to date, we now present to the students, to the public, and in particular to those interested in the problems of university education, what is virtually a re-written version of our earlier publication.

This handbook does not purport to be a comprehensive survey of non-European higher education, for that would demand a work of an altogether larger scale. It does seek, however, to provide as complete a factual background as possible to those particular questions which are at present most important or controversial, and to explain the views of NUSAS regarding these questions.

Non-Segregation Challenged

Only Recently

In the past few years the policy of academic non-segregation has attracted more and more attention, particularly in political circles. Until recently it would not have been necessary to examine this system, for it was never challenged. The Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand automatically assumed that it was the natural thing for a university to do to open its doors to all who were desirous of obtaining higher education, and qualified to do so. This was in line with the accepted university traditions of our Western civilization, traditions which are today being followed elsewhere in Africa, most recently in Rhodesia.

Since 1948, however, this traditional open-door policy has been frequently and vehemently attacked in Government circles. Government spokesmen, including several Cabinet Ministers, have made it patently clear that the intention is to impose apartheid on U.C.T. and Wits., if necessary by legislation.

The preliminary step in implementing this policy was taken a year ago, when the Holloway Commission on University Apartheid was appointed. Its terms of reference were "to investigate and report on the practicability

and financial implications of providing separate training facilities for non-Europeans at universities."

In presenting its memorandum of evidence to that commission, NUSAS made one point very clear, which was excluded from the terms of reference of the commission. This point should again be emphasised, before we pass on to consider the merits or demerits of university non-segregation.

This point is the contention that the policy a university follows in the admission of its students is an important facet of its autonomy, its right to independence from political interference or control.

"University independence" is a phrase which has been bandied about a great deal in South Africa recently. It might be useful if we were to examine what is meant by this concept.

History of University Autonomy

Prof. A. H. Murray (professor of political philosophy at the University of Cape Town) has shown that the concept of university autonomy grew up in the Middle Ages, dating from the 8th century, when Charlemagne granted autonomy to groups of individuals. The position of the universities was somewhat analogous to that of the guilds, and their development towards autonomy corresponded with that of the guilds. "From this essentially plural set-up of the Middle Ages," Professor Murray says, "the university derives the legal and administrative guarantees of its freedom."^(a)

Since those early days, university independence has become firmly entrenched as one of the most important principles of education in Western civilization. Indeed, "it is the prime duty of the universities to educate the community in the essential need for university independence," says Dr. H. R. Raikes (until recently, Principal of the University of the Witwatersrand).^(b)

The South African Government itself recognised the validity of university freedom when it appointed the Holloway Commission on University Finances in 1951, and instructed it to reach its findings with due regard to "the freedom and autonomy of the universities as statutory bodies."

(a) From "The Concept of a University," published by NUSAS in July, 1953.

(b) Address to the Congress of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 1948.

There is, however, an important factor which militates against the absolute independence of the universities. This is that our universities, in common with nearly all in the world, are heavily subsidised by the state. Does this fact not entitle the state to dictate to the universities?

That the state is entitled to some say in university administration is obvious. But by long-standing custom, it seems that its powers do not extend beyond a general supervision of expenditure. Sir Walter Moberley (chairman of the Universities Grants Committee in the United Kingdom) has said that state supervision should only be such as "gives the state the assurance to which it is entitled, that the funds it provides are being wisely and effectively used by the universities, and does that without sacrificing the responsible independence of the universities."^(c) And it is significant that in the United Kingdom, where universities are far more heavily subsidised by the state than in this country, they remain fully independent.

The Four Freedoms

The universities claim that all other matters pertaining to their internal administration or teaching fall within their own sphere of control. Dr. T. B. Davie (Principal of the University of Cape Town) has described this more positively in enumerating the "four essential freedoms"—the freedom of a university to decide for itself whom to teach, how to teach, what to teach, and who shall teach.^(d)

At present in South Africa, only one of these is in dispute—the liberty of a university to decide whom to teach. In certain spheres, while the traditional university independence has been admitted as a valid concept, it has been contended on the other hand that the right to decide whom to teach is not one of the aspects of that independence.

This contention cannot, however, be taken too seriously. In the first place, it is against both the custom and practice of our whole cultural heritage. This fact has indeed been authoritatively recognised in this country by the Minister of Education, the Hon. J. G. Viljoen, when he said:

"The Government agreed that it was desirable that the principle of apartheid should be observed in the Union's universities, but could not agree to introduce legislation to enforce it. *Such legislation would be a violation of the traditional independence of South African universities.*"^(e)

Secondly, restricting a university's freedom to teach whom it wishes has an indirect but definite effect upon its vitally important liberty to teach what it wishes. If

a university is properly to discharge its function of the pursuit of truth, it is of the utmost importance to it that it includes in its student community the widest possible cross-section of views, and encourages the attendance at its lectures of those, who because of their particular geographical, social, economic, religious or racial background, hold views which differ from those of the majority of the student body. This point is more fully discussed in Chapter VIII.

But the universities fear an even more direct attack on their freedom to teach what they wish. University liberties are not entrenched in law, and guarantees of their continued existence depend the assent of the state and the custom of our civilization. When rights are customary, however firmly they may be established, precedent must always be an important factor. Thus the universities fear legitimately that interference with one of their four liberties now may lead later to interference with some or all of the others. As Dr. T. B. Davie has said:

"Any restriction on the principle of the open door is a challenge which should arouse all believers in the boon of true academic freedom. It can, and almost invariably does, lead before long to further inroads, and in particular is almost inevitably followed by partisan or indoctrinated teaching."^(f)

For these reasons, it is our view that even if the opinions expressed in this booklet on the merits or demerits of university non-segregation are totally invalid, U.C.T. and Wits. still remain entitled to pursue the policies they do today, unless they themselves wish to alter them.

Politics And The Universities

If it is not accepted that this is so, the door is wide open to the subjection of the universities to political ideology. If a political party, which after all speaks only temporarily in the name of the state, can compel a university to adapt its internal policy to that party's political attitude, then its successors in power can do the same. Theoretically the universities would then be obliged to alter their academic policies with every change of government—a ludicrous and obviously untenable position. If apartheid is to be adopted by our universities, it should be because it is necessary for some reason other than mere conformity with the political views of the party in power.

One important explanation remains to be made in connection with the contents of this booklet. This is that those who would contend that the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand have the right to determine their own policies must logically also uphold

(c) Address to the Congress of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 1948.

(d) Addresses to new students at U.C.T., February, 1953, and February, 1954.

(e) Speech at Pretoria on 18th September, 1951.

(f) Address to S.A. Institute of Race Relations, May, 1954.

the right of a segregated university to retain its character. As Dr. Edgar Brookes has said:

"Even those universities which appear to us at the moment to be actively working against the causes we have most deeply at heart should have the freedom to do so."(g)

It must therefore be understood that when we express the view that university non-segregation is superior to segregation, we do not imply that those universities which adopt the latter policy should be prevented from doing so.

Indeed there is much to be said for a diversity of systems throughout the country, *provided that the individual has the freedom to choose under which system he wishes to study.*

Thus where we do criticise any individual institution, as we have been unable to avoid doing sometimes, it is not with the wish to interfere in that institution's in-

ternal affairs. Nor do we intend any slur on the motives or sincerity of that institution's administrators, nor to decry the valuable contribution its teachers are making to non-European higher education. We criticise merely to illustrate, by way of comparison, our general thesis.

It is true that it is often difficult to divorce the problems of education from those of the society in which it is to exist. But if education is to achieve its end of impartiality and objectivity—and any other alternative must logically lead to indoctrinated education—it is essential that we approach the problems inherent in it devoid of any preconceived ideological hypotheses, whether such hypotheses be the acceptance or rejection of apartheid in the wider sphere.

Only by careful consideration of the purpose of university education, critical investigation of the facts at our disposal, and by drawing on the vast experience of educationists in this country and in others, can sound conclusions be reached. This we have tried to remember in presenting our handbook to you.

J. M. D.

(g) Speech in the Union Senate, 20th April, 1951.

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The History of Non-European Higher Education in South Africa

THE higher education of non-Europeans in South Africa is very nearly as old as the higher education of Europeans. The earliest history is obscure, because until 1947 the University of Cape Town, and its predecessor, the South African College—the first higher educational institution in South Africa to admit non-Europeans—kept no statistics of the races of its students.

However, it has been stated by a graduate of the South African College⁽¹⁾ that at least two Coloured students studied there in 1902. As far as is known, the South African College and the University of Cape Town have always admitted non-European students without discrimination, though their number was probably small until the 1930's.

The University of the Witwatersrand, and its predecessor, the South African School of Mines and Technology, has since its early days always admitted non-Europeans to most faculties without discrimination. This policy was first applied in 1910, when a Chinese student entered the School of Mines and Technology. In the 1920's only one Coloured student was admitted, but in the 1930's the number increased appreciably, though there were still few by comparison with recent years.⁽²⁾

Founding of Fort Hare

The movement for a special institution to provide higher education for non-Europeans, and more specifically for Africans, began in the first few years of the century. The Inter-Colonial Native Affairs Commission reported in 1905 that a "Central Native College or similar institution" should be established "for training Native teachers and in order to afford an opportunity for higher education for Native students."⁽³⁾

This movement led to the establishment in 1916 of the South African Native College at Fort Hare⁽⁴⁾ to prepare students for the matriculation examination. A limited range of University training was also provided. As its name implies, the College was intended primarily for African students, but students of other racial groups have been admitted

Until 1935 the only University degree for which students at Fort Hare could study was a B.A. The majority of the students were preparing for the matriculation examination, and 60% of the average annual enrolment

of 95 students from 1916 to 1935 were not matriculated.⁽⁵⁾

In 1935 a B.Sc. course was introduced, and the number of students increased slightly. In 1937 matriculation training was discontinued, and from that time the College has consisted, with a few special exceptions, entirely of matriculated students.

Since 1939 the number of students at Fort Hare has risen steadily, until it reached 343 in 1949. Since then the numbers have remained constant at about 350.

Fort Hare was originally formed as a voluntary association and was incorporated in 1923 under the Higher Education Act (No. 30 of 1923). This is the Act under which most technical colleges and similar institutions are constituted. It does not give to the bodies incorporated under it the same independence from Government control which is enjoyed by most Universities and University Colleges under their own Acts of Parliament.

Fort Hare was associated with the University of South Africa, but not as a constituent College of the University, like the Colleges that subsequently became the eight South African Universities. Its somewhat anomalous position was described by the Principal, Prof. C. P. Dent, as:⁽⁶⁾

"A recognised teaching and examining College with partial representation in the committees and faculties of the University of South Africa."

The syllabuses and degrees were those of the University of South Africa.

As time went on, Fort Hare was treated more like a constituent College. For instance, members of its staff came to be appointed not only as internal examiners for its own candidates for the University's examinations, but as external examiners to other candidates. But it never became a constituent College of the University in name, nor did it ever acquire a vote in the Senate of the University.

In 1951 the University of South Africa was stripped of the last of its constituent Colleges. Rhodes University College became a University, and Fort Hare became affiliated to Rhodes University. Shortly afterwards it changed its name to Fort Hare University College. Fort Hare students now follow the syllabuses and write the examinations of Rhodes University, while administratively and financially Fort Hare is independent, subject

(1) A reply to a questionnaire sent out by the Executive of the Convocation of the University of the Witwatersrand, February, 1954.

(2) Information kindly supplied by the Registrar of the University of the Witwatersrand.

(3) "University College of Fort Hare, Calendar 1954," p. 4.

(4) The name of the College was changed to Fort Hare University College on 3rd October, 1953.

(5) "University College of Fort Hare, Calendar, 1954," pp. 89 and 90.

(6) Prof. Clifford P. Dent: "Address to Past Students at Reunion," July, 1949.

to the considerable degree of Government supervision made possible by the provisions of the Higher Education Act.⁽⁷⁾

The relationship between Fort Hare and Rhodes is thus not the same as that between the non-European section of the University of Natal and the European section. In Natal the two sections are linked both academically and administratively.

Both Rhodes and Fort Hare regard this arrangement as temporary. A statement issued by the Council of Rhodes in 1949 said:⁽⁸⁾

"The affiliation is considered to be a temporary measure which brings the Native College academic standards under the control of the proposed Rhodes University, until such time as the Native College can be established as a completely independent institution for non-Europeans."

The view of Fort Hare was expressed in 1949 by the Principal, Prof. C. P. Dent, when he said:⁽⁶⁾

"The status of this college in the immediate future has thus been agreed upon. . . . If we now try to look further ahead, I think all of us hope and expect that the College will develop, in the not too distant future, into a full and independent University."

In 1947 and again in 1951 NUSAS expressed its opposition to Fort Hare becoming an independent University purely for non-Europeans.⁽⁹⁾ The reasons for this opinion will become apparent later.

Cape Town and the Witwatersrand

The increase in the demand for higher education for non-Europeans, which was felt by Fort Hare particularly after 1939, was also evident elsewhere in the country. The enrolment of non-European students at the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand increased rapidly, until in 1949 it reached 151 at Cape Town and 188 at the Witwatersrand. Since 1949 the increase has continued, but at a slower rate. In 1953 the numbers of non-European students at the two Universities were:⁽¹⁰⁾

University of Cape Town	238
University of the Witwatersrand	220

A factor which increased the enrolment of non-European students at the University of the Witwatersrand considerably was the decision of the Government in 1941 to embark on a relatively large-scale plan for the training of African doctors. As the University of Cape Town is unable to train Africans at its medical school, on account of the lack of a suitable hospital for their clinical training, this teaching had to take place entirely at the University of the Witwatersrand. Five scholarships were granted every year, each sufficient to

cover not only the fees, but also the total living expenses of the student.

As a result of the increase in the number of non-European students, and particularly Africans, attending the University, it became necessary to provide them with residence accommodation. In 1941 the Johannesburg City Council granted land for the purpose, and in 1944 a hostel, the Douglas Smit African Students' Residence, was built. The building costs of over £30,000 were financed by the Native Trust.

This seems to be strong evidence for the view that the Government medical scholarships were intended to be a permanent institution, for the Douglas Smit Residence was and still is used mainly by medical students, and the expenditure would hardly have been warranted to assist a temporary expedient.

Towards the end of 1948 the Government announced that it would terminate these scholarships. The students of the University at once decided to set up their own African Medical Scholarships Trust Fund to replace the Government scholarships, and voluntarily agreed to a 10/- annual levy per student to start the fund. Students of other universities and the public supported the fund, while NUSAS has collected considerable sums for it from students in other countries.

Between 1951 and mid 1954 fourteen African students were granted scholarships out of a fund which has grown to large proportions.

In 1953 the University of the Witwatersrand announced that only a limited number of non-European students would in future be admitted into the medical faculty. No official explanation of the reason for this step has been given. It has been suggested that it was necessitated by a shortage of clinical facilities, arising from the fact that the hospitals do not permit non-European students to be present at the treatment of European patients. But this explanation has not been generally accepted.

Ban on Foreign African Students

As well as admitting non-European students from South Africa, the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand have always included these students from other territories in Africa, notably Rhodesia.

In November, 1950, however, the Government decided to ban foreign African students from attending institutions of higher education in South Africa. In the face of numerous protests, the ban was suspended in February, 1951, for three years, to enable neighbouring territories to establish their own facilities. In October, 1953, it was announced that the ban would come into operation from the beginning of 1954. At the same time it was stated that those foreign Africans already studying in the country would be allowed to complete their courses.

In a letter to NUSAS from the Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences in October, 1954, the Minister stated that at the request of the Government of Rhodesia, the

(7) Act No. 30 of 1923.

(8) Hansard: No. 5, 1949 (21st to 25th February): 1793 — Mr. Brink.

(9) Minutes of NUSAS Student Assembly Meeting, July, 1947, and July, 1951.

(10) Figures kindly supplied by the Registrars of the Universities.

South African Government had agreed to allow foreign Africans into the Union to study at Fort Hare and the Natal Medical Faculty, but not to attend the Universities of Cape Town or the Witwatersrand.

The reason given for the ban has been that there are not enough university facilities in the country for the education of South Africa's Africans. While this may be true of some faculties, notably medicine, it is certainly not true of others such as arts which absorb a very high proportion of African students. This explanation is therefore difficult to accept, particularly when one bears in mind that the ban applies only to study at the two open Universities.

University of Natal

Another effect of the increased demand for higher education for non-Europeans was the institution of classes for them at the Natal University College.⁽¹²⁾ These classes were organised on a different basis from anything that existed elsewhere, for while they were an integral part of the Natal University College, they were completely separate from the European classes. The first classes were held in 1936 with an enrolment of only nineteen students, whose choice of subjects was limited to five courses for the B.A. Degree.

Expansion was rapid, and by 1944 the number of students had reached 159, and the number of courses offered had increased to seventeen.⁽¹³⁾

In 1947 classes were provided for the first time in commerce and social science. However, the number of students taking these courses has been small, and in some years the minimum number of ten required to make up a class has not been available for the commerce course, and the course has been suspended.

In 1949 the number of students at the non-European section of Natal University College was 330, but in the following year it fell to 205, and if the students of the new medical school are left out of account, the number has not increased much since then. The probable reason for the drop, which is the only serious one in the development of higher education for non-Europeans in South Africa, was the substantial increase in fees in 1949. The Principal of the University has suggested that the Durban race riots of December, 1948, were also a contributory factor.

The non-European classes were originally held, as a temporary expedient, on the premises of Sastri College, an Indian boys' high school some distance from the Natal University College buildings. At the beginning of 1954 it was announced that some of the classes would in future be held in City Buildings where European part-time classes are held. This will not alter their segregated basis.⁽¹⁴⁾

At first the non-European classes were taught by part-time lecturers especially employed for the purpose. But in 1946 a system was introduced whereby, wherever possible, the non-Europeans were taught by the same lecturers as the European students in the corresponding classes, to ensure that the teaching of the two groups was of the same standard.⁽¹⁵⁾

This system has not worked satisfactorily. In 1951 a Commission set up by the University itself to enquire into its finances recommended that the part-time classes for non-Europeans be abolished, and that the full-time classes be taught by separate staff.⁽¹⁶⁾ Commenting on this, the University Council announced that it favoured the gradual provision of separate staffing for non-Europeans, but that it had no intention of discontinuing any of the facilities provided for them.⁽¹⁷⁾

Natal Medical School

The most recent important development in the provision of higher education for non-Europeans was the opening in 1951 of a medical school in Durban as a faculty of the University of Natal. It is intended primarily for the education of non-Europeans, and Europeans may be admitted only in exceptional circumstances.⁽¹⁸⁾ No European has yet been admitted. As there is no duplication of faculties for Europeans and non-Europeans, the University policy of using the same teaching staff for Europeans and non-Europeans has no application.

In 1951, 35 students entered the medical school. At the end of 1953 there were 77 students, 28 in the first year of study, 28 in the second year, and 21 in the third year.⁽¹⁹⁾ The medical school itself, at which the students study only from their third year, is now in partial use, and will be completed during 1954. The students in the earlier years study at present in temporary premises at Wentworth.

The Government provides loan bursaries to fifteen non-European students at the Natal Medical School every year. These bursaries are sufficient to cover both fees and living expenses. However, the bursars must agree to work for the Government for one year after qualifying for every £200 advanced to them. And they must sign an undertaking never to administer to European patients, except in circumstances of emergency. This contravention of the Hippocratic Oath has aroused considerable indignation.

(15) "Help your people—The Natal University non-European Section," p. 6.

(16) "Report of the Commission of Enquiry, 5th May, 1951" (The Internal Commission of Enquiry), University of Natal, pp. 8 to 10.

(17) Press Statement of Policy issued by the University of Natal, 1st February, 1951.

(18) "Help your people—The Natal University non-European Section," p. 15.

(19) Information kindly supplied by the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine.

(12) The Natal University College became the University of Natal in 1947.

(13) "Help your people—The Natal University non-European Section"—University of Natal (undated), p. 6.

(14) Information kindly supplied by the office of the Registrar of the University of Natal.

Existing Facilities for Non-European Higher Education

A PART from the University of South Africa, which caters for external students alone, there are eight universities in South Africa today and one university college which provide higher education of a university character. We are omitting entirely from our discussions a consideration of teachers' training colleges, technical colleges, agricultural schools and other non-university post-matriculant institutions.

Of the universities, the four Afrikaans-medium institutions, Stellenbosch, Pretoria, the Orange Free State and Potchefstroom, do not admit non-European students.

Three of the English-medium universities, Cape Town, the Witwatersrand and Natal, do. The fourth, Rhodes University, does not in the ordinary way admit non-European students. But it has on occasions admitted a few to study post-graduate courses not available at Fort Hare.

Fort Hare University College is a non-European centre, while the University of South Africa offers correspondence courses to all races.

Where universities do not admit non-Europeans, except in the case of Potchefstroom, their exclusive membership is not governed by any clauses in the University Statutes, nor by any special Act of Parliament. The admission of students is at the discretion of the university authorities themselves.

University of South Africa

The University of South Africa provides education today only through its division of external studies, that is by correspondence. Its range is of course limited to those faculties where teaching by correspondence is possible.

We have no exact figures of the number of non-Europeans enrolled with the University of South Africa, but it is undoubtedly substantial, probably exceeding that enrolled at all the other universities together.

While recognising the useful work done by this University, we cannot regard teaching by correspondence as University education in the true sense. We therefore do not propose to deal further with it.

University of the Witwatersrand

The University of the Witwatersrand admits non-Europeans to all faculties and all courses except the B.Sc. Physiotherapy course. In general students are admitted without any discrimination on the basis of race, but exceptions to this rule are the faculties of medicine and dentistry.

In the faculty of medicine only a fixed quota of non-European students is admitted (see Chapter I).

In the faculty of dentistry, non-Europeans will only be admitted if sufficient apply to form a separate class numbering ten. This again is because non-European students would not be permitted to be present at the treatment of European patients. The requisite number of non-European students has never applied for admission to the dental faculty, and consequently none have ever been admitted.

In all faculties non-European students attend the same classes as Europeans, use the same libraries and laboratories and do precisely the same work. In extra-curricular activities the regulations of the University do not permit mixed sport or mixed dancing, but in other extramural activities all students take part without distinction. Non-European students are frequently elected to the Students' Representative Council, and to the committees of cultural societies.

By a recent decision of the University Council, however, segregated seating is enforced in the Great Hall when the public is admitted to any functions other than those of a strictly academic nature.

The following table shows the number of non-European students admitted to the University of the Witwatersrand in the years 1949, 1950 and 1953, and the proportion which they formed of the total student body: ⁽²⁰⁾

	<i>Non-Europeans</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1949	188	4,580	4.1%
1950	201	3,754	5.4%
1953	220	4,273	4.9%

The following table shows the enrolment of non-European students at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1953, broken down according to faculties and ethnic groups: ⁽²⁰⁾

	<i>Africans</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Asiatics</i>	<i>All Races</i>
Arts	14	2	19	743
Science	9	5	40	346
Medicine	42	5	58	942
Engineering	—	—	3	708
Commerce	4	—	7	917
Law	6	2	2	162
Dentistry	—	—	—	215
Architecture	—	—	2	240
	75	14	131	4,273

(20) Figures kindly supplied by the Registrars of the respective Universities.

University of Cape Town

The University of Cape Town admits non-European students to all faculties and all courses, with the single important exception of the faculty of medicine, as far as African students are concerned. The reason for this exception is that there are only two training hospitals in Cape Town, which the Provincial authorities will not permit to provide clinical facilities for the training of African medical students.

This was explained by the Principal of the University (the late Dr. A. W. Falconer) to delegates of the Students' Representative Council in 1946. The report of the President of the S.R.C. presented at a meeting on August 6th, 1946, and adopted by the meeting, reads:

"The Principal outlined the legal position governing the admission of students to the University. He pointed out that the only factor that was taken into consideration when a student applied for admission to the University was the student's academic qualifications. No discrimination was made on the grounds of race or colour. In faculties where the curriculum included courses held in other institutions (e.g. the hospital), admission was dependent on the regulations of such institutions."

Other non-European groups are admitted to the medical faculty.

As at the University of the Witwatersrand, non-European students attend the same classes, do the same work, and use the same libraries and laboratories as the European students. There are no regulations restricting the mixing of European and non-European students in any extra-curricular activities, but the non-European students have always refrained voluntarily from attending dances and playing most sports.

The attitude of the students seems to be reflected in a resolution passed 11-3 by the Students' Representative Council on April 20th, 1954, which stated:

"As far as the actual exercise of rights in certain social and sporting spheres of student activity by non-European students is concerned, the S.R.C. emphatically refuses to dictate to individual students how they should organise their relationships with other students . . . the S.R.C. is prepared to leave the exercise of certain rights in the social and sporting sphere to the individual student, in the confidence that his good sense and discretion will induce him to act in the best interests of student harmony, healthy race relations and the present status of the University."

Non-European and European students take part together in all other extra-curricular activities. The election of non-European students to the Students' Representative Council has not been as frequent as at the University of the Witwatersrand, and only four non-European students have served on the Council in the past ten years.

The following table shows the number of non-European students enrolled in the University of Cape

Town in the years 1949, 1950 and 1952, and the proportion which they formed of the total student body: ⁽²⁰⁾

		<i>Non-Europeans</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1949	.....	148	3,966	3.6%
1950	.....	162	3,885	4.1%
1952	.....	194	3,974	4.4%

The following table shows the enrolment of non-European students at the University of Cape Town in 1952, broken down according to faculties and ethnic groups: ⁽²⁰⁾

	<i>Africans</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Asiatics</i>	<i>All Races</i>
Arts	9	58	6	647
Science	4	26	16	342
Medicine	1	36	15	782
Engineering	—	—	—	411
Commerce	—	5	—	610
Law	1	1	—	50
Architecture	—	1	—	451
Education	1	8	—	80
Social Science	1	1	—	44
Music	—	2	—	557
	17	138	37	3,974

University of Natal

The non-European classes of the University of Natal fall into two very distinct categories: the medical classes and the others. These are conducted in different places and according to different systems. They must therefore be considered separately.

Natal Medical School

The University of Natal medical faculty is intended primarily for non-European students, and at present it includes only these students. There does not appear to have ever been an authoritative statement about the possibility of admitting European students to the medical faculty. As far as NUSAS has been able to ascertain from the University authorities, European students might be admitted in exceptional circumstances, but not otherwise. In a publication of the University of Natal on the medical faculty, it is described as being:

"Primarily for non-European undergraduate training, but also to provide facilities for research into the vast and complex problems of sickness in Africa." ⁽²¹⁾

The medical school is situated next to the King Edward VIII non-European hospital in Durban. The pre-clinical training of the students takes place in temporary quarters at Wentworth, on the outskirts of Durban. The maximum number of students who can be admitted to any one year of study is forty. ⁽²²⁾ At the end of 1953 the numbers were: ⁽²³⁾

(21) "The New Durban Medical School Responds to the Challenge of Africa." University of Natal (undated), p. 5.

(22) "The New Durban Medical School Responds to the Challenge of Africa," p. 34.

(23) Information kindly supplied by the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine.

First year	28
Second year	28
Third year	21
	<hr/>
	77

The medical faculty provides the only example in the country where non-European University students write examinations not also written by European students. It is, however, the intention of the University that the status of the medical degree should be precisely the same as that of corresponding degrees awarded by other Universities in the Union.

The faculty, like all medical schools in the Union, is subject to general supervision by the South African Medical and Dental Council, which is concerned to maintain the standard of all medical degrees awarded in South Africa.

The course provided by the medical faculty, leading to the degree of M.B. B.Ch., lasts seven years, in contrast to the six-year courses of all the other medical schools in South Africa. Whereas the other medical schools devote one year to pre-medical studies, consisting of courses in physics, chemistry, botany and zoology, the Durban medical school devotes two years to such studies. In addition to the same four sciences, the students study English or Afrikaans and sociology, or some other social science. The reason for this extra year has been explained as follows:⁽²⁴⁾

"This provides the student with a much broader basis of general education before he proceeds to his more specialised professional training. It is felt that this will help him ultimately from the professional viewpoint alone; and it will help him too to make the kind of contribution to the cultural life of the community which is expected from members of the professions."

Although other Universities do not have the same system, it may be remarked that some regard it as desirable for medical students to take one year of an arts course, or even a full B.A. degree, before embarking on their medical studies.

Natal—Other Faculties

Apart from the medical faculty, the University of Natal offers courses to non-Europeans in the faculties of arts, education, commerce and social science. In these faculties they follow the same courses as European students, and write the same examinations, but are taught in separate classes. Except for a few junior lecturers or demonstrators who are employed specifically at the non-European section of the University, the same lecturers teach European and non-European students in classes which are as far as possible exactly equivalent.

Courses are not offered to non-Europeans in the faculties of engineering, architecture, law, agriculture or fine art, all of which are available in the University for

Europeans.⁽²⁵⁾ Nor are they offered in the faculty of science, though, according to the official handbook of the University, it is hoped to institute some science courses shortly.⁽²⁶⁾

Within the faculty of arts the choice of subjects is somewhat more restricted than for European students. Among the courses available in 1954 to Europeans, but not to non-Europeans, were mathematics beyond the first year, Latin beyond the first year, French, German, philosophy, music and speech and drama.⁽²⁶⁾ The availability of all courses is, as in any University, subject to there being a sufficient number of students wishing to take them. A lack of students has resulted in the suspension of the commerce course for non-Europeans for several years. Each year there have been some students wishing to take the course, but not the required minimum number of ten.

The non-European section of the University has no permanent buildings. The University uses the buildings of Sastri High School when the school is not in session, and it has certain temporary buildings in the grounds of the school, which house the library, common rooms and administrative offices.

The majority of classes are held either in the evenings or at week-ends, as the lecturers and buildings are seldom available at other times. This applies to full-time as well as part-time students.

The non-European students have a separate Students' Representative Council which represents all non-Europeans medical students and others. There is little contact between them and the European students in extra-curricular activities.

Fort Hare

The University College of Fort Hare offers courses for the B.A. and B.Sc. degrees, a post-graduate diploma in education known as the University Education Diploma, and a certificate in theology for non-matriculated students. As already mentioned, the syllabuses are the same as those of Rhodes University, and the degrees for which the students are prepared are the degrees of Rhodes University.

The choice of subjects in the two degrees is considerably more restricted than at the larger Universities, as it is naturally not possible for so small a College to provide courses in subjects for which there is relatively little demand. For the B.A. degree only the following subjects are available as major subjects (i.e. subjects which are studied for two or three years): Latin, English, Nederlands and Afrikaans, Bantu languages, mathematics, philosophy, psychology, history, geography, Biblical studies, economics, Roman-Dutch Law, politics, administration, social anthropology, systematic theology, economic history. Non-major courses are available in the following subjects: Hellenistic Greek, Roman law,

(24) "The New Durban Medical School Responds to the Challenge of Africa," p. 32.

(25) "Courses for Non-European Students, University of Natal, 1954" passim.

(26) Courses for Non-European Students, University of Natal, 1954," p. 8.

constitutional law, criminal law, Native law, principles of classical culture, and various science subjects.

The most important of the subjects not available at Fort Hare, which are offered by the larger Universities, are modern languages other than English, Afrikaans and Bantu languages, Hellenic Greek, and subjects concerned with fine art and music.

For the B.Sc. degree all the usual subjects are available with the exception of geology.

Courses were formerly available for the degree of B.Sc (Hygiene), but these have been discontinued.

A three-year course in agriculture is provided by the College and Fort Cox Agricultural College. The students study certain necessary science subjects as part of the course at the College.

The following table shows the number of students at Fort Hare who were studying the various courses available in 1952 and 1953⁽²⁷⁾ and the average for the years 1946 to 1950:

	1946-1950	1952	1953
Arts	131.8	145	137
Science	116.2	153	150
B.Sc. (Hyg.)	26.2	28	5
Theology	27.8	25	36
Education	23.8	44	51
Agriculture	7	4	8
	332.8	399	387

Facilities for post-graduate study at Fort Hare are very limited. The list of graduates of Fort Hare shows only the following number of post-graduate degrees:⁽²⁸⁾

M.A.	5
B.A. (Hons.)	4
M.Sc.	2
B.Sc. (Hons.)	3

(27) "University College of Fort Hare, Calendar 1954," p. 10.

(28) "University College of Fort Hare, Calendar 1954," pp. 69 to 79.

The above remarks do not, of course, apply to study for the post-graduate University Education Diploma, which is awarded to a number of students every year.

We are not aware of any immediate plans for instituting new faculties at Fort Hare, and the possibility of most faculties other than arts and science being established there seems to be ruled out by the situation of the College, outside the small village of Alice, many miles from any large centre of population.

Fort Hare has always been intended primarily as a College for Africans, as was implied by its former name, "The South African Native College." There is, however, nothing in its statutes or regulations to exclude students of other races, and it has admitted a substantial number of Indian and Coloured students, and a very small number of European students.

Distribution of Non-European Students

The following table shows the distribution of non-European students in 1952 among the University institutions open to them, excluding the University of South Africa:⁽²⁹⁾

Witwatersrand	220
Cape Town	194
Natal	222
Fort Hare	399
	1,035

The table below shows the major courses available to non-Europeans at the various Universities, other than the University of South Africa:⁽³⁰⁾

(29) Figures for the Universities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town and Natal kindly supplied by the Registrars; figures for the University College of Fort Hare from their Calendar, 1954, p. 89.

(30) Information from the Calendars of the respective institutions.

Comparison of Facilities for Non-European Higher Education

<i>Witwatersrand</i>	<i>Cape Town</i>	<i>Natal</i>	<i>Fort Hare</i>
—	—	—	Theology
†Arts	†Arts	†Arts	†Arts
Science	Science	—	Science
Commerce	Commerce	Commerce	—
Social Science	Social Science	Social Science	—
—	Education	Education	Education
Medicine	*Medicine	Medicine	—
Law	Law	—	—
Architecture	Architecture	—	—
Engineering	Engineering	—	—
Music	Music	—	—
Fine Art	Fine Art	—	—

*Not open to Africans.

†In the Arts faculty, the following courses, inter alia, are available only at the Universities of the Witwatersrand or Cape Town: French, Italian, Portuguese, German, Hellenic Greek, history of the fine art, history of music.

The Bantu Education Act

THE Bantu Education Act, passed by the Union Parliament at the end of 1953, has proved one of the most contentious enactments in South Africa in recent years. Indeed it is still a subject of warm political dispute throughout the country.

We have no wish at this stage to become embroiled in a controversy, many aspects of which fall outside the scope of this handbook. But it is quite clear that the implementation of the Act in other aspects will have a very important effect on University education. It would therefore be unrealistic to consider the higher education of African students, without at the same time examining the Act, in so far as it does have some direct bearing on higher education.

The Eiselen Commission

The Act was foreshadowed by the appointment in January, 1949, of the Native Education Commission, under the chairmanship of Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen (Secretary for Native Affairs). Its terms of reference included the following:

1. The formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under the ever changing social conditions are taken into consideration.
2. The extent to which the existing primary, secondary and vocational educational systems for Natives, and the training of Native teachers, should be modified in respect of the content and form of syllabuses, in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations."

The Act itself is not particularly revealing. Its effect is to take African school education out of the hands of the Provincial education authorities, and transfer it to the central government, and more particularly, to the Department of Native Affairs. The Minister of Native Affairs is given unrestricted powers to decide for himself such matters as the content of African school education, teachers' conditions of service, and the registration and establishment of schools.

What policy the Minister will follow in implementing the Act is already known in some respects, for example the future status of the mission schools. In other respects, notably the content of African school education, no steps have yet been taken, and one must rely on suppositions as a guide to what policy the department will follow.

These suppositions are, however, strongly reinforced by the various speeches made by the Minister (the Hon. Dr. H. F. Verwoerd), and particularly by his speech in moving the second reading of the bill in the House of Assembly in September, 1953. In this and other speeches, he has given a very clear indication of his department's policy in implementing the Act. As neither he nor any other Government spokesman has since repudiated the views Dr. Verwoerd has expressed, one is entitled to assume that they do in fact represent an accurate forecast of the policy which will be adopted.

A "Special Kind" of Education

The guiding principle of Dr. Verwoerd's policy is the view which is also inherent in the terms of reference of the Eiselen Commission. This is that, because of the position they occupy in South African society, Africans should be provided with a "special kind" of education.

The other effects of the Act may all be said to be merely means by which this major end will be achieved. Among the most important of these effects are: (i) all mission schools will be taken over by the State, unless they are able to function with a greatly reduced Government subsidy; (ii) expenditure on African education will in future be pegged at £8,500,000, and revenue for expansion must in future come from special taxation of the Africans; (iii) more pupils will be brought into the schools, but to make this possible, the school day has been divided into two sessions of three hours each, instead of the old 4½-hour school day, and (iv) the normal course in African schools will go only as far as Standard II.

Dr. Verwoerd has said that the previous type of school education given to Africans was unsuitable, because it⁽³¹⁾

"... made him feel different, made him feel he is not a member of a Bantu community, but a member of a wider community."

Of what kind then will the new type of education be? Dr. Verwoerd has answered this question very fully, when he said: ⁽³²⁾

"... we can see to it that education will be suitable for those who will become the industrial workers in the country; and also that education can be suitable for those who have to stand on their own feet in the reserves, and who will have to conserve their soil and develop their agricultural activities; that education can also take into account the requirements of those who

(31) Hansard, Vol. 83, 3576.

(32) Hansard, Vol. 83, 3580 and 3585.

will become the rural and agricultural workers, and it can also keep in mind those who would develop in the higher professions by means of which they will be able to serve their own community. . . .

"What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics, when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd. . . . Education is after all not something that hangs in the air. Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live . . . *if my Department contro's higher education, it will know for which type of higher profession the Native can be trained*, where he will make a living with his knowledge, instead of choosing his own path in a direction where he cannot find a sphere of activity, thus turning him into a frustrated and dissatisfied being . . . there is the much greater number of Natives who have to find their future in other forms of work. The latter should have a training in accordance with their opportunities in life, and no Department will know better where and how great the opportunities are for the Bantu child in various directions than the Department of Native Affairs."

Elsewhere in the same speech, the Minister elaborates on the reasons which make the Bantu Education Act necessary: (33)

"Racial relations cannot improve if the wrong type of education is given to Natives. They cannot improve if the result of Native education is the creation of frustrated people who, as the result of the education they receive, have expectations in life which circumstances in South Africa do not allow to be fulfilled immediately, when it creates people who are trained for professions not open to them, when there are people who have received a formal cultural training which strengthens their desire for the white-collar occupations to such an extent that there are more such people than openings available . . . above all, good race relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create the wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself, if such people believe in a policy of equality . . . it is therefore necessary that Native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the State."

Following on from these remarks, Dr. Verwoerd added: (34)

"Then I want to add—and this is very important—that their (African) education should not clash with Government policy. I suppose Honourable Members will at once say that we want to give ideological education.

Mr. Lawrence: That is indoctrination.

The Minister: I just want to remind Honourable Members that if the Native in South Africa today in any kind of school in existence is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake. . . . If they (the Opposition) are, like we are, in favour of the Native's development within his own sphere and in the service of his own people, then such a person should be reared in that idea from the start."

To achieve the ends that he has set out, Dr. Verwoerd has stated that African education must be transferred to his Department because (35)

" . . . when one renders one service (to the African people) and therefore knows what the requirements of knowledge are on the part of the Native, one is also the most suitable person to give him that knowledge by controlling his education."

On another occasion—in the Union Senate in June, 1954—the Minister criticized the mission schools, because: (35a)

"They were unsympathetic to the country's policy . . . by blindly producing pupils trained on a European model, the vain hope was created among Natives that they could occupy positions in the European community despite the country's policy of apartheid . . . *the school must equip him (the African) to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose on him*. . . . It is of no avail for him to receive an education which has as its aim absorption in the European community where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community, and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze."

We have quoted at length from the Minister's remarks because they reveal beyond any possible doubt that the aim of the new Bantu education—at least as Dr. Verwoerd sees it—is political indoctrinated education in its purest sense. Its purpose is to mould the African child to fit into a pattern of society based on what is no more than a political theory—apartheid.

Although we cannot go fully into this point in this booklet, we must record our total rejection of the aims of the Minister, and our opposition to what we regard as an abuse of the term 'education.'

Inferior Education?

It has been alleged that the Bantu Education Act will provide inferior education for Africans, an accusation which the Department of Native Affairs has denied. The proposed syllabuses for lower primary African schools, published in November, 1954, and to come into effect in 1956, do not reveal whether this will be so or not. These syllabuses lay down that instruction, which will be in the mother tongue, will include history, geography and civics (which will be treated as "environment studies") and both official languages.

But no indication has, at the time of writing, been given as to what range the subjects stated will cover, except that it has been said that the history course will include less ancient history.

Whether the new education will in fact be inferior is largely a matter of conjecture at the present. When one considers that the salaries of teachers in African schools are to be cut, that the expenditure on these schools has been pegged, and that school hours have been reduced by 33% a day, it is difficult to escape the conclusion

(33) Hansard, Vol. 83, 3576.

(34) Hansard, Vol. 83, 3586.

(35) Hansard, Vol. 83, 3581.

(35a) "Bantu Education—Policy for the Immediate Future," issued by the Information Service of the Dept. of Native Affairs, 1954.

that, while more African children may well receive an education under this Act, there is a grave danger that the education will not in fact be of the quality of the old teaching, however much the Government may wish to avoid this result. Time alone will tell, however, whether this view is accurate.

Effect on Universities

What is important, however, and of great relevance to the Universities, is that the new school education for Africans will be *different* in content from that for Europeans. Quite how different we do not yet know, and have only the Minister's expressed views to provide the answer to this question. If in fact African school education does turn out to be the kind which Dr. Verwoerd has described it as, it becomes very clear that those Africans who do pass beyond the Standard II limit set by the Department as the normal school-leaving stage, if they write a Matriculation examination at all, will not write that written by European scholars.

As the various Matriculation examinations at present written by both European and non-European scholars are used by all Universities in South Africa as the entrance examination to a University education, Universities which wish in the future to admit African students may have to consider setting special entrance examinations for them.

As the Universities all provide a general education—in the sense that it is distinguished from a special “racial” education—it remains problematical whether,

notwithstanding any special entrance examination, African students whose only education has been of this special kind would in any event be qualified to benefit by higher education in the open Universities, as we know it today.

It therefore seems highly possible that in time the Bantu Education Act may indirectly lead to the elimination of African students from the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand.

One further point should be mentioned, which arises from the Minister's remarks quoted earlier that his Department “will know for which type of higher profession the Native can be trained.”

At present whether an African student attempts to enter any particular profession depends upon his own discretion and that of the University to which he seeks entrance; his is the choice to decide whether, in the face of the difficulties which often face African graduates in this country, he still wishes to attempt to make a living in the profession of his choice; and it is the University's right to decide whether he is fitted to make that attempt.

From the Minister's remarks, however, it becomes very clear that the choice of both these parties will now be replaced by that of the Department of Native Affairs. As such, this represents a very substantial derogation from the present freedom enjoyed by the open Universities to choose for themselves what students they will admit.

The premises on which the Eiselen Commission was appointed and the Bantu Education Act enacted are included in the discussions in Chapters IV, V and VI.

CHAPTER IV:

The Need for Higher Education for Non-Europeans

IT is generally recognized today that the duty on the State of providing University education for non-Europeans is established beyond all doubt. The fact that all governments since 1916 at the latest have supported with subsidies not only Universities which were open to non-Europeans, but also a College (Fort Hare) specifically for them, that since 1941 all governments have provided bursaries for non-European medical students, and the fact that facilities for the higher education of non-Europeans have been rapidly expanding for the last fifteen years, show that this has long been accepted by governments and Universities. The same view was taken by the Commission on Native Education (the Eiselen Commission) which stated in its report: ⁽³⁶⁾

⁽³⁶⁾ “Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951” (The Eiselen Report), Government Printer, Pretoria, para. 709.

“The importance of University education for the Bantu cannot be over-emphasised, both to provide general education for leaders, and to provide high-grade technical men for their future economic and social development.”

Although this question is not a controversial one in most quarters, it is nevertheless intended, for the sake of completeness, to deal with it. Three questions are involved. Are non-Europeans intrinsically capable of benefitting by higher education? Are there non-Europeans who are formally qualified to enter Universities, that is, who have Matriculated? Is there scope for non-Europeans who have received a University education and is there a social need for such non-Europeans? The third question is the subject of the next Chapter. The first two will occupy us in this Chapter.

Formal Qualifications

Whether there are non-Europeans who have the formal qualifications to enter Universities is a question easily disposed of. There are at present some 890 non-European students enrolled at Universities in South Africa and at Fort Hare, apart from those who are enrolled as external students in the University of South Africa. We have no recent figure for the number of the latter, but it is undoubtedly large. In 1948 there were 317 Africans enrolled as external students in the University of South Africa out of a total of 749 at all higher educational institutions in South Africa.⁽³⁷⁾ It is therefore unlikely that fewer than 500 non-Europeans of all races are enrolled today with the University of South Africa.

There are thus at least 1,500 non-European students receiving higher education in South Africa at present. But this does not represent the total number of non-Europeans qualified to do so. In 1950 there were approximately 2,000 non-Europeans in Standard X in South African schools, 900 being Africans and the remainder Asiatic or Coloured children.⁽³⁸⁾ One may reasonably assume that all these pupils wrote the matriculation or equivalent examination, and even assuming that only half of them passed, this would supply 1,000 matriculants a year. Thus there are sufficient non-European matriculants to supply a rather larger number of University students than are at present attending University.

Inherent Abilities

The first question, whether non-Europeans are intrinsically capable of benefitting by University education, is somewhat more complex. Whether different races differ in intrinsic intelligence has been investigated by a number of scientists in recent years. The phenomena requiring to be investigated before a definite conclusion can be reached are so complex and in some cases so intangible that it is probably not yet possible to claim that any answer to this question has been definitely proved. However, the overwhelming weight of scientific opinion undoubtedly tends to the view that there is no inherent difference between races in respect of intelligence and capacity.

The Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education in the United States of America makes the following remarks on this question:⁽³⁹⁾

"There are still those who deny the equal educability of the Negro and the Whites, who allege an inherent lower intellectual capacity. But such stereotypes have been repeatedly disproved by authoritative scientific study both in the fields of anthropology and

physiology, and in the records of educational achievements itself. Whatever differentials are observable in progress and attainment are clearly attributable to discrepancies in family, neighbourhood, and total cultural background and experience. Wherever educational opportunity along with more equitable economic and social conditions has had even an approximate chance, the record of the Negro has shown no material difference from that of any other group."

While in Cape Town in April, 1954, Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders (Director of the London School of Economics and chairman of the Commission whose investigations preceded the foundation of the Rhodesia University College) was reported as having said:⁽⁴⁰⁾

"From my knowledge of universities for Africans and of African students in London, I have found them just as able to benefit from higher education as Europeans."

Finally, the Eiselen Commission states, under the heading "Intelligence and aptitude":⁽⁴¹⁾

"While the volume of evidence on this subject presented to the commission was considerable, it was of a very contradictory nature. Your Commissioners have therefore maintained an open mind on the subject. No evidence of a decisive nature was adduced to show that as a group the Bantu could not benefit from education, or that their intelligence and aptitudes are of so special and peculiar a nature as to demand on these grounds a special type of education."

Further on the commission makes the following rather more definite statement:⁽⁴²⁾

"The Bantu child comes to school with a basic physical and psychological endowment which differs as far as your Commissioners have been able to determine from the evidence set before them, so slightly, if at all, from that of the European child, that no special provision has to be made in educational theory or basic aims."

In the light of this evidence there is certainly no justification for basing a policy on any assumption other than that non-Europeans are equally capable of benefitting from University education with Europeans.

It must be realised, however, that the necessity for providing University education for non-Europeans does not depend on the answer to this question. The educability of the members of any race varies enormously from the genius at one end of the scale to the imbecile at the other, and in any race only a proportion of the people are capable of benefitting by University education.

The question whether two races are equally educable amounts, therefore, to no more than whether the same proportion of the two races reach a given standard of intelligence. This is clearly not very important. The important question is whether there is a substantial number of non-Europeans who are capable of benefitting by University education.

(37) Eiselen Report, Table LXXX.

(38) "Help your people—The Natal University Non-European Section," p. 18.

(39) "Report of the Presidents' Commission on Higher Education," Vol. 2, 1947, p. 30.

(40) "Cape Argus," April 5th, 1954.

(41) Eiselen Report, para. 60.

(42) Para. 773.

To this question it is possible to give an unequivocal answer in the affirmative, on the basis of the performance of the not inconsiderable number of non-Europeans who have received University education. All the non-Europeans who attend Universities in South Africa, whether the Universities are segregated or not, write the same examinations as some European students, except those at the medical faculty of the University of Natal. The students of Fort Hare write the same examinations as the students of Rhodes University, and the students of the non-European section of the University of Natal write the same examinations as the European students.

Thus a standard of comparison is available between the achievements of European and non-European students. Admittedly, examination results are not an altogether satisfactory criterion of success at a University, but it is the one which is at present used for all purposes, and must therefore be used for this one.

Unfortunately exact figures on this matter are not plentiful. The only comprehensive figures which we were able to obtain were from the University of Natal medical school. The following are the results obtained by African students at that school since its inception in 1951:⁽⁴³⁾

Performances of Non-European Students

Year	Passes	Failures	Total
First	16	10	26
Second	10	3	13

The figures for all students, including African, Indian and Coloured students, are as follows:

Year	Passes	Failures	Total
First	15	8	23*
Second	18	3	21

* The figure for all students includes results for 1952 only in the first year. All other figures include results for 1952 and 1953.

These results compare not unfavourably with those obtained by European students.

The following figures are extracted from a survey conducted by NUSAS in 1950 into a completely different question. They show the proportion of students in their first year at University who fail in one or more subjects:⁽⁴⁴⁾

- (43) Information kindly supplied by the dean of the Faculty of Medicine.
- (44) "Results of the National Research Project on the Relationship Between Aspects of High School Education and University Academic Adjustment, 1949 to 1951," NUSAS, diagram 16.

University	% failures
Fort Hare	41.18
Natal—Durban—European	42.86
Natal—Non-European	50.00
Cape Town	39.24
Rhodes	36.37
Witwatersrand	37.06
Average	39.43

Note. The average is for the total number of students involved, not the average of the figures for the separate Universities.

No Significant Differences

With the exception of the figure for the non-European section of the University of Natal, where the great majority of the students were at that time part-time students, the differences between the figures for the different Universities are too small to be significant.

Unfortunately there is a complete absence of statistics comparing the performance of European and non-European students at the same Universities, as these Universities have at no time followed the practice of breaking down statistics on racial lines.

It would be extravagant to try to draw any general conclusion from these meagre statistics. They do, however, show that in the particular years covered by the figures there were, in the particular institutions concerned, a proportion of non-European students capable of passing University examinations which was not much different from the proportion of Europeans capable of doing so who are usually found in the Universities. This certainly points to the conclusion that, among those non-European students who are obtaining access to the Universities, there is as high a proportion of potentially good students as among the corresponding section of the Europeans.

Those who wish to disparage the academic achievements of non-Europeans sometimes say that they pass examinations by virtue of a photographic memory, without understanding what they are studying. This statement is, however, never heard among those who have any acquaintance with University conditions, and indeed it reveals a complete ignorance of the nature of University examinations. It is probably true that many subjects in the matriculation examination can be passed without any real understanding, if the candidate has a sufficiently good memory. The same may be true of a few subjects in the first year at a University, but beyond that it is certainly not true at all.

Openings for Non-European Graduates

ONE sometimes hears the type of question which asks: what is the sense in qualifying Africans for careers for which there is little or no scope for them in South Africa? Indeed this argument has been frequently used in the controversy surrounding the Bantu Education Act (see Chapter III).

It is our intention in this chapter to try to show that in fact this is not so. As will be seen, not only is there scope for Africans in all the professions—albeit limited in some—but in certain professions an urgent need exists.

Before we do so, however, we should remember that the function of a university is not so much to turn out the correct quota of qualified professional men annually, as to nurture the learning of the past, and stimulate the mind of the student to think effectively, so that he may build on this learning and contribute to the knowledge of the future. Indeed Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders (Director of the London School of Economics) went so far as to say in an address to students of the University of Natal in 1954:

“A university exists in order to preserve, advance and disseminate learning; it is a place of learning, of learning for its own end, without any regard for its usefulness.”

This attitude towards the function of a University was also reflected by the following exchange of remarks between Dr. J. E. Holloway (chairman of the Commission to investigate University Apartheid) and Dr. T. B. Davie (Principal of the University of Cape Town), when the commission heard evidence at that University: ⁽⁴⁵⁾

“Dr. Holloway: Is it not the duty of the State to provide non-European teachers to serve their own community?

Dr. Davie: The State's duty is to get the best out of its best citizens, independent of their function in society. The only systems I know of where this has not been so have been in Communist or Nazi countries.”

This being so, it would be unnecessary for the Universities to take into account the vocational implications of their training, or to consider in any way whether society provides opportunities for their graduates.

However, although strictly it is not their purpose, the universities have undertaken certain responsibilities in equipping their graduates for particular careers. It is for this reason that we consider the implications of these responsibilities in relation to the opportunities in South Africa for non-European graduates.

The professions for which a University degree is an indispensable requisite are medicine, law, architecture and careers in industry for which a degree in one of the

accurate sciences is necessary. Those in which a degree is highly desirable, and required for entry into certain positions, are teaching, most branches of engineering, quantity surveying and social work. A degree is also useful in many branches of administration and commerce, and in agriculture, and is required as a qualification for many positions in the research and scientific field.

Non-Europeans are not debarred by law from entry into any of these professions, with the single exception of mining engineering. The actual possibility of non-Europeans entering these professions, however, depends on a great many other factors besides this one, and each requires to be considered separately.

Two professions stand out as those for which the great majority of non-European, and particularly African, University students are preparing themselves, and in which at the present time there is an obvious and urgent need for graduates. These are medicine and teaching.

Teaching

It is generally considered that a University degree is useful for any school teacher, and indispensable for a secondary school teacher. Yet only 40% of Africans teaching in secondary and high schools are in possession of a University degree.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The Eiselen report, commenting on this figure, says: ⁽⁴⁷⁾

“These figures are given to indicate the leeway that has yet to be made up in order to raise the standard of the teachers entrusted with this (i.e. secondary school) work to the desired standard.”

To this must be added that, in spite of the fact that a large number of inadequately qualified teachers are employed for lack of teachers with proper qualifications, there is still an overall shortage of non-European teachers.⁽⁴⁸⁾

From this it is clear that at present there are far more openings for non-European graduates in teaching than can be filled. It is probable that the number of African secondary schools will increase fairly rapidly in the future. In 1949 the African pupils in secondary schools formed only 2.62% of the total school enrolment, by contrast with 16.57% in European schools. But during 1949 (the latest year for which figures are available) the number of Africans in secondary schools increased from 18,199 to 19,901, an increase of 9.3%. Thus it would appear that there is no likelihood of the output of graduate teachers catching up with the demand, much less overtaking it.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Eiselen Report, Table XCVII and para. 460.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Para. 460.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Eiselen Report, para. 690(b).

⁽⁴⁵⁾ “Cape Argus,” May 12th, 1954.

Figures are not available for other non-European groups, but the position is probably substantially similar.

Medicine

In South Africa there is a severe overall shortage of doctors. For a population of approximately 12,500,000 people, there are about 5,000 doctors—an average of one doctor to 2,500 people. In contrast to this, there is an average of one doctor to 800-900 people in Great Britain and the United States of America.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Assuming, as is not unreasonable, that the needs of the 2½ million Europeans are fully met on the basis of the British and American proportions, 2,950 doctors must devote their entire time to the European population, leaving only 2,050 for the 10 million non-Europeans, or one doctor for every 4,878 of the population.

There is, therefore, a theoretical need for at least 14,700 doctors in South Africa, almost all of them to work with non-Europeans, and therefore almost all of them potentially non-Europeans. This is not of course intended to convey that it is likely, or indeed, possible, that anything resembling this number of doctors will be trained in the foreseeable future, but it does serve to illustrate the urgent need for the training of more non-European doctors, and the unlikelihood of the supply outstripping the demand.

The existence of this theoretical need does not, of course, guarantee that every non-European who graduates will be able to make a living. The shortage of doctors is felt for the most part by the poorer sections of the non-European people, who are quite unable to afford to employ private practitioners, so that non-European doctors are largely dependent on employment by the State and municipalities.

Nevertheless at present non-European doctors appear to find no difficulty in obtaining employment, and the requirements of the State alone are so far from being satisfied that the Government is at present providing bursaries to cover the entire cost of medical training for fifteen non-European students a year at the University of Natal Medical School. These students are required to undertake to accept full-time service with the Government for one year for every £200 advanced to them.

This clearly indicates that the Government considers that there are sufficient other openings available to non-European medical graduates and that, in the absence of this provision, their requirements might not be fulfilled. In other words, it is the opinion of the Government that the present output of non-European medical graduates is not sufficient to fill immediately available posts, including possible private practices.

The enormous need for further doctors will undoubtedly compel public authorities of all kinds to employ increasing numbers of non-European doctors as time goes on. It is therefore most unlikely that the supply of doctors will overtake the immediate demand within the foreseeable future.

Law

It is not possible to compute the need for lawyers in the same way as the need for doctors or teachers, and it would be difficult to say whether there is or is not a social need for more lawyers in South Africa.

But it is not necessary to answer this question to determine the possibility of a non-European making a living as a lawyer. For him to be able to do so, he must in the first place be able to enter the profession, and then be able to build up a practice. There is no legal bar to a non-European becoming either an advocate or an attorney, and non-Europeans are admitted to membership of at least some of the societies of advocates and law societies in South Africa.

In order to become an attorney a non-European must find an attorney who is prepared to employ him as an articled clerk. That he can do this is shown by the fact that several non-European attorneys are practicing, and as the number of non-European attorneys increases, so will it become easier for non-Europeans to article themselves. No such problem arises in the case of an advocate, who requires no qualification other than his degree.

It has long been possible for a non-European to make a living as a lawyer, relying largely or exclusively on a non-European practice. According to the Union census of 1946,⁽⁵⁰⁾ the number of Africans whose occupations were classified under the headings "commerce and finance, profession, sport and entertainment" increased from 24,052 in 1936 to 45,245 in 1946. These would, in general, represent people who might require legal services, and would be able to pay a private practitioner for them. According to the same census the number of Africans classified as "Advocates, attorneys, articled clerks, law-agents" increased from 7 in 1936 to 18 in 1946.

It therefore appears that there undoubtedly are openings for non-Europeans in law, though they are far more limited than in the spheres of medicine and teaching, as law is a far smaller profession.

Architecture, Engineering, Research

There is nothing to prevent a non-European entering private practice as an architect or a consulting engineer in any field, but the chances of his being able to make a living appear to be small, for the number of non-Europeans requiring the services of such professional men is negligible, and it would not be easy for a non-European professional man to build up a practice among Europeans. It should be remembered, however, that there are extensive openings for non-Europeans in these professions elsewhere in Africa.

It is not known to what extent private industry is prepared to employ non-European scientists, but again great opportunities exist in other parts of Africa.

Research workers in all classes of work are generally dependent on employment either by Government agen-

(49) "The New Durban Medical School Responds to the Challenge of Africa," p. 22.

(50) Eiselen Report, Table CXLVII.

cies, by large private concerns, or by the Universities. There is no legal bar to the employment of non-Europeans in such capacities, but under existing circumstances there appears to be very little possibility of non-Europeans obtaining such employment outside the Universities. As far as we have been able to ascertain, there are at present no non-Europeans in South Africa employed as research workers outside the Universities. In other parts of Africa openings may exist, but they are unlikely to be on as large a scale as the demand for practical engineers.

University teaching and research provides an opening for University graduates in every field. For this, except perhaps in the most exceptional circumstances, a degree is indispensable. Openings for Africans in this field exist at least on the staffs of the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town, and the University College of Fort Hare.

At Fort Hare in 1954⁽⁵¹⁾ two out of nine Professors, and seven out of twenty-one lecturers were Africans. In addition three of the four members of the library staff were Africans. During 1954 an African professor, Prof. Z. K. Matthews, was acting Principal of the College. From these facts it is clear that the academic posts at Fort Hare are all open to Africans in fact as well as in theory.

The number of openings so created is, however, limited by two factors: the small size of the staff, and the limited number of subjects taught. In 1954 the academic staff of the College, excluding the Principal, consisted of only twenty-nine persons, with three vacancies, and comprised only the following departments: African Studies, anthropology and administration, Bantu Languages, divinity, education, economics, English, geography, history, Nederlands and Afrikaans, classics, philosophy, psychology, agriculture, botany, chemistry, mathematics, physics, applied mathematics and zoology.

At the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town all positions on the academic staff are in theory open to non-Europeans of all races, but to date the only appointments to positions higher than those of tutors and demonstrators have been in the departments of Bantu Studies. There is nothing to prevent other Universities from appointing non-Europeans to their staffs, but it does not appear probable that they will do so under present circumstances.

Clergy, Commerce, Librarianship, Social Work

Other occupations in which a University degree, though not essential, is extremely useful, are the ministry, commerce, librarianship and social work. There are some openings for non-Europeans in all these spheres. The ministry is one of the professions which absorbs the greatest number of Africans. In the 1946 census there were 2,697 ordained African clergy. Only two professions exceeded this number, teachers and nursing.

In commerce degrees, not only in commerce, but also in law, are being found increasingly necessary. We have been able to find no accurate figures regarding the number of non-Europeans engaged in commerce, but there are certainly some Africans, and the number of Indians is substantial.

We have been unable to ascertain precisely what openings exist for non-European librarians, apart from the staff of the library at Fort Hare University College, but in 1946 there were, according to the census, a total of 31 African librarians, in contrast to none in 1936.⁽⁵²⁾

The need for social workers among the African people is obviously very great indeed. It is not possible, as in the case of medicine, to arrive at a figure representing the number of social workers needed, but it must run into thousands, and by far the greater part of this demand must be met by Africans. The potential demand for African social workers is more or less unlimited, but the immediate demand is limited by the number of positions offered by public and private agencies. Non-European social workers are employed by the Government, by a few municipalities and by a number of private organisations. In 1946 the total number of African social workers was 69, by comparison with 7 in 1936.⁽⁵²⁾

The Principle Involved

No consideration of the question of the openings available to non-European graduates would be complete without a discussion of the important question of principle which it involves. This is whether higher education ought to be available to non-Europeans only in those spheres where employment is readily available, and only to the numbers for whom employment is obtainable.

In favour of the view that education should be so restricted there are two arguments: (i) that to give education, whether higher education or of any other kind, to those who will not be able to employ it in practice is a waste of money both directly, through the cost of the education, and indirectly through keeping the people concerned out of profitable employment while they are being educated, and (ii) perhaps more important, that to educate people for careers which are not available to them produces frustrated individuals who are personally unhappy and socially dangerous.

The validity of the latter argument may be doubted, for it is well known that a large number of University graduates do not find their careers in the occupations for which their degrees specifically fit them. But such people seldom regard their University education as wasted. It is generally recognised today that the mental training and discipline which is imparted in any University course is, if anything, more important in almost any career than the specialised training of a particular course. If a man

(51) "University College of Fort Hare, Calendar 1954," pp. 13 to 15.

(52) Elselen Report, Table CXLVII.

trains himself for a particular career and finds himself unable to enter it, he can almost certainly make use of his degree in some other way. He will surely be less likely to feel frustrated than if he had been prevented from taking a degree in the first place.

This argument cannot, of course, apply in the case of careers into which entry is totally barred. Though it would not be entirely wasted to take a degree aimed at such a career, it would obviously be better to take some other degree. As we have already shown, however, the number of careers in which University degrees are either necessary or useful from which non-Europeans are totally barred is very small. In the majority it is merely difficult for a non-European to establish himself.

In these cases, in view of what has been said above, there appears to be no good reason why those non-Europeans who wish to make the attempt should be prevented from doing so, while there are several reasons why they should be allowed to. In the first place, to prevent non-Europeans from training for careers on the ground that there are no easy openings for them there would be contrary to the basis of our society, which is one of free competition, where every person is at liberty to try any legal means of making a living that he can. Restrictions would be a clear act of discrimination between Europeans and non-Europeans. There are a number of careers, notably the various branches of engineering, which it is far from easy for a woman to enter. But women are free to train for these careers, and a number do so. Similarly, numbers of students train every year for careers which they are economically unable to enter, notably the Bar.

As long as this freedom is allowed to European students, one must be forgiven for suspecting that those who wish to deny it to non-Europeans have some other motive than the benefit of the non-Europeans.

The main point, however, is slightly different. As has been pointed out, there are very few professions from which non-Europeans are legally debarred. In most success is difficult, but it is quite impossible to say that it cannot be achieved even by individuals of the most exceptional ability. Even if it is accepted as quite impossible that a non-European should build up a professional practice among Europeans, the possibility of doing so among non-Europeans is constantly changing and expanding. The extent to which this is so is illustrated by the following figures showing the number of Africans in various professional occupations in 1936 and 1946: (53)

	1936	1946
Doctors	7	33
Lawyers (inc. articulated clerks)	7	18
Librarians	-	31
Artists, Painters, Sculptors ...	4	12
Musicians	7	43
Chemists	-	19
Professors, Lecturers	1	8
Social Workers	7	69
	33	233

(53) Eiselen Report, Table CXLVII.

It will be seen that in ten years the openings for Africans in eight professions, excluding the two large professions of teaching and the ministry, increased sevenfold. In two cases (librarians and chemists) the number rose from none—indicating that there were no openings—to a number which is substantial, as the numbers of non-European professional men are counted. In the light of these facts it is scarcely deniable that it is not only unjust, but also quite unwarranted to deny non-Europeans the opportunity of attempting to make their way in any profession from which they are not debarred by law.

It must be remembered, of course, that this discussion deals with a matter that affects only a small number of individuals, and a small proportion of the total number of non-Europeans undergoing higher education. Those who are prepared to undertake the risky role of pioneers in new fields are always in the minority. This fact is shown by the following figures illustrating the number of non-Europeans of all races in the different faculties of the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town. All the faculties listed are open to non-Europeans, and with the single exception of the medical faculties (see Chapter II), there is no restriction on the number who may be admitted. (54)

	Witwatersrand (1953)	Cape Town (1952)
Arts	35	73
Science	54	46
Medicine	105	52
Engineering	3	—
Law	10	2
Commerce	11	5
*Education	—	9
*Social Science	—	2
Architecture	2	3
*Music	—	2

*The University of the Witwatersrand has no education faculty and includes social science and music students under arts.

From these figures two facts appear. Where non-Europeans are allowed, as far as the University controls it, a free choice of faculties, the very great majority take courses giving access to professions where openings for them are plentiful. On the other hand there is not a course which at least some non-European students do not wish to take.

The argument that it is unnecessary to provide courses for non-Europeans in fields where it will be difficult for them to obtain employment is thus not valid.

In the first place, there is a definite demand for such courses, however small. In the second place, these courses are not attracting large numbers of non-Europeans into useless study. For the students who take them are no more than, if they have the necessary ability, may be able to pioneer a place for themselves.

(54) Figures kindly supplied by the Registrars of the two Universities.

The Content of Higher Education for Non-Europeans

UNTIL recently it has always been assumed that the content of higher education for non-Europeans must necessarily be the same as that for Europeans. Throughout the history of higher education for non-Europeans in South Africa, they have written the same examinations and received the same degrees as Europeans. At the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town non-Europeans attend the same classes as Europeans. At the University of Natal, while attending different classes, they follow precisely the same syllabuses as the European students and write the same examinations.

Until 1951, the students of Fort Hare followed the syllabuses and wrote the examinations of the University of South Africa, which since 1951 have been replaced by those of Rhodes University. The only case where non-European students write examinations which are not also written by Europeans is that of the medical faculty of the University of Natal.

The same policy is followed elsewhere in Africa. In the Central African Federation Europeans and non-Europeans are to attend the same University. Makerere College in Uganda writes the examinations of the University of London, as do the University Colleges in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. The proposed University in the Belgian Congo is to admit both European and non-European students. We are not aware of any University or College in Africa, either existing at present or having existed in the past, which has a syllabus differing from that followed elsewhere because it is specially designed to meet the needs of Africans.

It is therefore clear that any proposal that the content of higher education for non-Europeans should differ from that for Europeans is a highly revolutionary one. The Eiselen Report does not appear to make any such proposal, although it puts forward the view that primary and secondary education for non-Europeans should differ from that given to Europeans.⁽⁵⁵⁾ In its criticisms of University education for Africans⁽⁵⁶⁾ it makes no criticism of the syllabuses, or of the system whereby non-European students write the same examinations as European students. In its proposals for the future,⁽⁵⁷⁾ which, it must be admitted are extremely vague, although it proposes⁽⁵⁸⁾ the "eventual founding of an independent

Bantu University," it gives no reasons for this proposal, and makes no statement whatever regarding the content of higher education at such a University.

Despite all these facts, the view is sometimes put forward in responsible Government quarters that the content of higher education for non-Europeans, and more especially for Africans, should in some way differ from that for Europeans. And in the sphere of school education, this concept was the guiding principle of the Bantu Education Act (see Chapter III). It is a view which must be examined.

The question may be very readily disposed of in relation to those courses which deal with pure or applied sciences—the courses in science, medicine, and engineering. As far as the theoretical side of the work goes, there is only one science of medicine or of any other branch of science, drawing on knowledge which has been acquired in every part of the world. It is quite obvious that the content of a science cannot differ in any way in relation to the culture or background of the student.

As far as the practical side of a course goes, differences do arise between what should be emphasised in one place and what would be stressed in another. In medicine, for instance, the training given to students must obviously be affected both by the diseases prevalent in the area in which they are to work and by the equipment that is likely to be available.

It is difficult to see, however, how differences of this kind can give rise to differences between the content of the education to be given to students of different races in the same country. They are to work in the same country, subject to the same material conditions.

In the case of medicine one might distinguish, if it were practicable, between the training given to students who are to practice among non-Europeans and those who are to practice among Europeans, but such a distinction would not coincide with the distinction between non-European and European doctors. In 1954 of about 5,000 doctors registered in South Africa not more than 100 were non-Europeans, so that it is quite clear that for many years to come a large proportion of the Europeans who qualify as doctors, perhaps the majority, will work with non-Europeans. Thus even if one assumes that the non-European student will work only among non-Europeans, it remains true that they will work in exactly similar circumstances to a large section of the Europeans.

(55) Para. 777.

(56) Paras. 707 to 712.

(57) Paras. 959 to 961.

(58) Para. 959(a).

The case of law students is similar. Although there are to some extent separate systems of civil law for Africans and for members of the other groups of the population, there can be no question of African law students studying native law while those of other races study Roman-Dutch law. Native law can only apply where both parties to a dispute are Africans, so that no lawyer, however his practice may be confined to Africans, can confine it to the field of native law. As in the case of doctors, many European lawyers must have African clients and consequently need exactly the same training as African lawyers who have African clients.

The case of teachers is rather more complicated. Although we have been unable to find any facts on this subject that can be regarded as authoritative, it is clear that there may well be significant differences in methods appropriate for teaching African children, Indian children, Coloured children and European children (though we would doubt it in the case of the last two) arising out of the differences in the cultural backgrounds of the children. This could give rise to a difference between the training appropriate for teachers who are to teach children of the different groups.

Here again, however, this distinction does not correspond with that between teachers of the various races. According to the Eiselen Commission⁽⁵⁹⁾ in 1951 in African secondary and high schools 217 out of 947 teachers were Europeans, and in African Teachers' Training Schools the staff consisted of approximately two Europeans for every African.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The Commission also states: ⁽⁶¹⁾

"All, including the Bantu, are agreed that for a considerable number of years European teachers will be needed to assist in the development of Bantu Education."

So it is clear that if different training must be given to African student teachers from that given to European student teachers, that same different training should also be given to Europeans who are to be qualified to teach in African schools.

It should be remembered in this regard that the difference in training applies only to that part of a teacher's training which refers to methods of education, and this is, in general, undertaken not by the Universities but by the Teachers' Training Colleges. The part played by Universities in the training of teachers is giving instruction in the advanced theory of education, and giving the advanced instruction in the subjects which the student will teach, and which a teacher needs, particularly in the secondary school. Educational theory on the level which it is taught in the University is a science, based on educational experience from all parts of the world, and it does not differ from one type of pupil to another, though its application may. The purpose of the advanced study of subjects which are to be taught is not to cover the school syllabus but to give the teacher a fundamental understanding of the subject.

Finally we come to those subjects which are directly connected with the cultures of groups, such as music, art, and literature. Ought the study of these subjects to differ for members of different groups? In our submission it is in the nature of University study that it should not. When a student sets out to study, for instance, a language and literature, whether it be his own or a foreign one, his object is to come as near as his time and ability will allow to a complete knowledge and understanding of that language and literature.

Thus a Frenchman and a Chinese studying French literature have the same object in view, and apart from the initial advantage which the Frenchman has in command of the language, there is no reason why their studies should not follow the same course.

It is important in this connection to distinguish between a literature, or any other aspect of a culture as an objective reality, and the emotional attitude which a person has to the culture to which he belongs. One's attitude towards the French language is fundamentally affected by whether or not one is a Frenchman, but that does not alter the fact that, objectively speaking, there is only one French language, just as there is only one science of physics; and there can only be one study of the one, as of the other.

This does not mean that Africans in general will wish or need to study precisely the same cultural subjects as Europeans. What it does mean is that where they do study the same subjects, there can be no difference in what they study or the way they study. The choice of subjects of study in arts courses is normally an unfettered individual one, and Universities supply those courses for which there is a demand, so that this question raises no problem.

We may conclude this chapter by noticing that our view that the study, at least at the University level, of any particular subject is the same for any person irrespective of his cultural group, is borne out not only by existing policy in the higher education of Africans throughout Africa, which we have already referred to. It is also University practice throughout the world.

The practice of students attending foreign Universities which have a special reputation for the teaching of a particular subject is extremely widespread, and is in general encouraged by both governments and Universities. The South African Government has in recent years given bursaries to bring French, German, Dutch and Belgian students to study in South Africa,⁽⁶²⁾ while since 1950, bursaries have been offered to South African students by the governments, inter alia, of Germany, Italy, India, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the U.S.A.⁽⁶³⁾

All this exchange of students between countries with markedly differing cultures could scarcely take place if it were not true that once two students are studying the same subject, the content of their study in no way depends on their race or cultural group.

(59) Table XCVII.

(60) Tables XCV and XCVI.

(61) Para. 972.

(62) "Study Abroad," Vol. 6, 1954, UNESCO, p. 341.

(63) "Study Abroad, Vol. 6, 1954, p. 553.

Segregation or Non-Segregation ?

— A Comparison of Facilities

THE most controversial question relating to the higher education of non-Europeans is whether it should be provided in separate institutions for non-Europeans (segregated education) or in institutions to which both Europeans and non-Europeans are admitted (non-segregated education). This question warrants consideration in detail.

We shall assume in the course of this discussion that the object of any system is to provide the best possible facilities for non-European students fully equal to those enjoyed by European students. It is generally accepted that this is necessary both on moral and practical grounds. Quite apart from the moral principle that persons who can benefit from them should not be debarred from educational facilities of the highest order, the provision to anyone of higher education which is not of the best is clearly unsound in principle. The responsibilities for which students are being prepared are so great that no society can afford to give them anything but the best education, while the cost of higher education is in any case so high that to save a little money at the expense of getting a second-rate product is a waste.

The first question which requires to be considered, therefore, is whether segregated or non-segregated education is better able to supply education of the highest standard. We shall first examine education in the narrow sense of study of the University syllabus, leaving until later the consideration of extra-curricular activities.

In this field there is no doubt that non-segregated education offers to the non-Europeans as good facilities as the country can provide. Whether segregated education does so, or is capable of doing so, is more doubtful.

It is quite clear that the existing segregated institutions in South Africa fall short in many ways of the facilities available at the non-segregated Universities, because of their small size. The smallest of the European Universities in South Africa, the University of Potchefstroom, has approximately 800 students, as compared with about 350 students at Fort Hare—and Potchefstroom is extremely small for a University by world standards. This small size gives rise to a number of disadvantages.

We have already noted the restricted range of courses offered at Fort Hare and at the University of Natal non-European section (see Chapter II). We may recall that neither centre offers courses in law, engineering or architecture, and that even in the degrees offered, the courses are limited. This is a necessary result of small numbers.

One aspect of this is the greater likelihood in a small University of a course which is normally given having to be suspended for lack of the necessary minimum number of applicants. Thus several times in recent years the commerce course at the University of Natal (non-European section) has been suspended because there were fewer than ten non-Europeans wishing to take the course, though the number of Europeans and non-Europeans together who wished to take the course greatly exceeded that number.

The restriction of the range of courses which it can offer is not the only disadvantage from which a very small institution suffers. Another, and perhaps the most serious of all, relates to the library. The following table shows the number of volumes stocked and the number of periodicals received by the libraries of the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town and of Fort Hare University College in 1954: (64)

	<i>Volumes</i>	<i>Periodicals</i>
Witwatersrand	234,900	3,462
Cape Town	250,000	2,300
Fort Hare	25,043	197

It will be seen that the number of volumes per student is approximately equal at the three institutions (though even on this basis the lack of periodicals at Fort Hare is very conspicuous), so that Fort Hare must spend as large a proportion of its revenue on its library as the two large Universities. Yet obviously the facilities provided for the students are not equal. The quality of a library does not depend on the number of books per student but on its total range.

The Holloway Commission on University Finances says in this connection: (65)

"An adequate library is essential to the educational and research functions of a University, since ideally in it should be housed all the knowledge and wisdom of the past that has been committed to written form. The ideal cannot be attained in practice in our own country, but as close an approach to it as possible should be attempted."

The importance of the library of a University, and consequently of the disadvantage under which Fort Hare labours as a result of its small library, cannot be over-emphasised. All authorities stress the vital importance of the library. The views of the Holloway Commission are quoted above. The Carr-Saunders Commission, which

(64) Figures kindly supplied by the Librarians of the Universities.

(65) "Report of the Commission of Enquiry into University Finances and Salaries, 1951" — Government Printer. Pretoria, Para. 221.

investigated higher education for non-Europeans in Central Africa, refers to a library as: ⁽⁶⁶⁾

"... the heart of the University as a centre of learning, and will have a symbolic importance both to the University community and to those outside."

And elsewhere: ⁽⁶⁷⁾

"It is essential that members of staff should have the time and facilities which are necessary for their own research. In particular they should have access to a library fully equipped for their needs. We emphasise that such a library is indispensable."

The same weakness as is evident in the libraries inevitably affects an institution as small as Fort Hare in its laboratories. Where the number of students using a laboratory is small, equipment obviously cannot be as diversified as in a large laboratory, and particularly highly expensive and specialised equipment is out of the question. The lack of adequate laboratories is as serious for those students who use them as the lack of an adequate library. This accounts, of course, for the very restricted facilities for post-graduate study which Fort Hare is able to offer. Indeed, the Eiselen Report states that Fort Hare "lacks adequate research facilities." ⁽⁶⁸⁾

Staff Difficulties

The main effect of these shortcomings is not felt directly by the undergraduate students, who doubtless have sufficient for their normal needs, but by the staff. Every staff member of high calibre is engaged in research of some kind, and is probably at least as interested in his research as in his teaching. This is the point made by the Carr-Saunders Commission in the second of the passages quoted above. Thus the lack of advanced books and advanced laboratory equipment seriously hinders a College in the recruitment of outstanding staff.

Fort Hare is in a more advantageous position than another College of similar size would be, because the fact that its students are drawn from under-privileged groups gives service on its staff a humanitarian appeal, which attracts men and women of a particularly fine moral character. The fact remains, however, that the great scholar or scientist is a man devoted to his subject, and will not be content to work where he has not the facilities for his own research. The lack of members of staff outstanding in the scholastic field in turn reflects on the academic prestige of the College and so further reduces its chances of attracting such persons.

It may be said that we are unjust in comparing facilities of Fort Hare with those of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand, as these two are far larger institutions. Rather should we use another small centre—Potchefstroom or Rhodes—as our basis for comparison.

This argument misses the point, however, that at present non-Europeans are able to enjoy the facilities of

one of the two large Universities. If these Universities are segregated, they will be unable to do so. Our basis of comparison is thus the present facilities which non-European students can enjoy in relation to what they would be compelled to resort to under segregation.

The number of non-European intra-mural students in South Africa is just over 1,000. If they were all compelled to attend one segregated University—with the attendant hardships, such as travel and accommodation expenses, which this compulsion would entail—it would still be small. But it would be larger than two of the European Universities (Rhodes and Potchefstroom), and it would probably be large enough for it not to be completely uneconomical to provide it with first-class facilities in those faculties which non-Europeans attend in large numbers. It would still be impossible, however, to provide degrees in engineering and architecture, owing to the small number of non-Europeans at present wishing to take these courses. If, however, the non-European students were divided between even two institutions, both would certainly be too small, and would inevitably suffer from the same weaknesses as Fort Hare. Apart from objections on educational grounds which will be mentioned later (Chapters VIII and IX), to bring all the non-Europeans into a single institution would entail the abandonment either of Fort Hare or of the Durban Medical School as a centre of non-European education, a suggestion which is hardly likely to be acceptable.

A solution which suggests itself to this problem is a sharp division of function between Fort Hare and Durban, so that there would be no duplication of faculties. If this were possible, it would go far towards solving the problem, as for most purposes the possibility of dividing advanced facilities depends not on the number of students in a University as a whole, but on the number who are studying each particular subject. A little consideration shows, however, that this would not be practicable. As has already been mentioned (Chapter II), the first two years of the medical course at Durban includes physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, English or Afrikaans and one of the social sciences. To provide this tuition alone involves the duplication of a substantial proportion of the facilities of Fort Hare.

A not dissimilar situation has arisen within the University of Natal, in the European section. This section has two branches, one at Pietermaritzburg and the other at Durban. An internal commission of inquiry into the organisation of the University commented as follows on the consequences of this arrangement: ⁽⁶⁹⁾

"Out of the impossibility to sever the cultural from the vocational grew the necessity for the introduction in Durban of full courses of science, and then in arts as well. It was natural to establish the faculties of engineering, architecture, commerce, social science (with social anthropology and Bantu studies), in Durban, as all the material together with student potential for such faculties were there in much greater quantity than in Maritzburg. The division of function between Maritzburg and Durban, which envisaged the alloca-

⁽⁶⁶⁾ "Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Higher Education for Africans in Central Africa (The Carr-Saunders Report), The Central African Council, p. 49.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ The Carr-Saunders Report, p. 38.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Para. 960.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ University of Natal Internal Commission of Enquiry.

tion of these faculties to Durban, and the academic impossibility of keeping their activities permanently divorced from the complementary educational values of subjects in pure science and pure arts, led unavoidably to the increased duplication of courses in arts and science."

Thus it is clear that it is not possible to maintain two segregated non-European institutions of sufficient size for it to be possible to provide first-class facilities particularly in the faculties of arts and science.

Nor can there be any question of Fort Hare becoming the only such institution, and the Durban Medical School being turned over to European education. The geographical situation of Fort Hare makes it impossible for a medical faculty ever to be situated there, and would make the development of faculties of architecture, law, social science and commerce difficult. This is illustrated by the restricted development of Fort Hare so far, and by the experience of the University of Natal and of Rhodes University, which has been unable to develop faculties of medicine, architecture or engineering.

Even if the difficulties could be overcome, either by the total removal of Fort Hare to Durban or by a great increase in the number of non-European students, so that there could be one or more segregated non-European institutions of considerable size, it does not follow that these institutions would have first-class facilities or facilities equal to those of the existing open Universities. Indeed, there are a number of factors militating against any segregated institution for non-Europeans in a country in which Europeans are dominant, which make it extremely difficult, and perhaps in the long run impossible, for it to maintain first-class facilities.

It is impossible to draw a general conclusion from the experience of South African institutions of higher education in this matter, as the segregated non-European institutions are so few in number and all suffer from the disadvantages arising from very small numbers. In seventeen states of the United States of America, however, the situation is closely analogous to that in South Africa. There too there is a mixed population, in which the whites are politically dominant, and in which the great majority of those receiving higher education are white. Until recently these states had practised segregation in higher education for many years, and their experience is instructive.

There is, however, one most significant difference. In the United States it had long been held to be illegal to enforce segregation between the races, unless the facilities offered to the two races were equal (the "separate but equal" doctrine). In South Africa, on the other hand, in terms of the Provision of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, it is specifically declared to be legal to enforce segregation where facilities are unequal.

The provision of segregated higher education for Negroes in the United States was thoroughly investigated by the President's Commission on Higher Education in 1947. The report of the Commission states:⁽⁷⁰⁾

"The legal position is that there shall be facilities supplied for 'separate and equal' education of White and Negro students. But the 'separate and equal' principle has nowhere been fully honoured. Educational facilities for Negroes in segregated areas are inferior to those provided for Whites."

Further on⁽⁷¹⁾ it says:

"The disparity is striking between expenditure for current education purposes by Negro and by other institutions of higher education in the District of Columbia and the 17 States which require the segregation of negroes. For all types of institutions, whether publicly or privately controlled, the ratio of expenditure of institutions for Whites to that of institutions for Negroes ranged from 3 to 1 in the District of Columbia to 42 to 1 in Kentucky. And nowhere in the area, except in the District of Columbia, did there appear to be a single institution that approximated the undergraduate, graduate and professional offerings characteristic of a first-class State University."

Experience in South Africa is very much the same, as appears from what has already been said.

There are probably a variety of reasons why segregated non-European institutions tend to be inferior to European institutions, but three stand out, namely public prejudice against them, lack of financial support from the general public, and financial starvation by public authorities.

Public Prejudice

There is a strong prejudice against segregated non-European institutions in the minds of the public, non-European as well as European. It seems to be generally assumed that such institutions are necessarily inferior to European institutions. In America, where completely separate Universities existed for Negroes, this prejudice led to their being dubbed "nigger Universities" and their degrees "nigger degrees," of a value not comparable with that of the best White Universities.

In South Africa this particular evil has been avoided by means of the system whereby non-European students in all institutions have written the same examinations as European students, either in the same institution or elsewhere. But the view that a purely non-European institution must be inferior has persisted. It is well reflected in an official publication of the University of Natal which explains the reasons for the particular system in force there. The publication is discussing what would happen if the University held non-segregated classes, and the great majority of the students were non-Europeans. It says:⁽⁷²⁾

"Inevitably standards would drop. The University would drift into the situation which the non-Europeans themselves wish to avoid, viz. an almost homogeneously non-European University."

The popular belief that segregated non-European institutions are inferior is, of course, based on the fact that in general they undoubtedly are so, not merely in

(70) Vol. 2, p. 31.

(71) Vol. 2, p. 31.

(72) "Help your people—The Natal University Non-European Section," p. 10.

the field of higher education, but throughout South African society. But the belief itself contributes to this situation. It inevitably has the effect of discouraging able members of staff from taking posts at such institutions, because it reduces the prestige of the institutions, and therefore of their staff, in the academic world. The ability of the institutions to raise public financial support, particularly capital for expansion, is also reduced.

Financial Starvation

The problem of the lack of public support is a fairly obvious one, particularly in relation to institutions intended for Africans. There can be no doubt that if educational institutions are to be divided up on racial lines, members of the public will tend to support the institutions catering for their own race. The total number of non-Europeans who can afford to give financial support to educational institutions is very small, and the number of Africans practically negligible. Consequently the financial support which such institutions can expect from the general public is very little.

The third factor is probably the most important of all. The largest single source of revenue of all higher educational institutions in South Africa is a subsidy from public authorities. The main source of these subsidies is the state, which provides over 40% of the revenue of every University in South Africa, and in some cases far more. Some Universities also receive substantial support from City Councils. In South Africa all authorities from which subsidies can be obtained are responsible to an electorate, which is either entirely or very predominantly European, and although the people in authority themselves may fully realise that it is necessary and in the interests of the whole community to provide fully for the needs of non-Europeans as well as of Europeans, their electorate seldom does so.

Consequently even the best-intentioned public authority is under a subtle pressure to provide better facilities for Europeans than for non-Europeans, so that where there are separate European and non-European institutions, the European institutions are certain to receive more support than the non-European institutions.

The Natal Experiment

We have been dealing above with the segregated University institutions, such as Fort Hare, which we have compared with the open Universities, Cape Town and the Witwatersrand.

There remains, however, to consider the compromise between the two which has been attempted at the University of Natal, in faculties other than medicine, where segregation within a University applies.

This system was devised with many of the above difficulties in mind, and in an attempt to overcome them. It places the non-European students in the same institution as European students. This should avoid the stigma attaching to a separate segregated institution. Non-European students have not only the same syllabuses as

the European students, but the same teachers. It was hoped that these factors would ensure that they had precisely the same facilities as the European students.

After 18 years, however, the University has not yet succeeded in its object of providing equal facilities for both groups.

The main points on which the facilities offered to non-European students fall short of those offered to Europeans are: the narrow choice of courses, the lack of permanent buildings, the fact that on account of the small number of students full-time and part-time classes have often to be combined so that full-time students have to attend classes in the evenings and at week-ends, and the limited range of books actually present in the library.

In regard to the last point it should be explained that any book in any of the libraries of the University of Natal can be borrowed by a non-European student, but comparatively few books are housed in the library used by the non-Europeans. As the greater part of a student's work should be done not with books borrowed from the library, but in the library itself, this is a serious disadvantage.

These weaknesses arise largely from the small numbers of students in the non-European section of the University, a difficulty which is at present insurmountable. But it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the University itself has not been able to avoid entirely the tendency to give the non-European section only a second place in the allocation of finances. The publication already cited states, under the heading "Urgent need for financial assistance": (73)

"As soon as possible these (viz. the non-European classes held at Sastri College) should be provided with better facilities, so that work being done at present under very cramped and restricted conditions at Sastri College—where full-grown students have to use desks and class-rooms designed for school children and where the practical work in subjects like geography and psychology has to be carried out in small and badly equipped asbestos army huts—can be undertaken under physical conditions more fitting to a University."

It proceeds specifically to appeal for £290,000 for the purpose of providing the necessary buildings.

The need for these buildings has not only now come into existence, for the non-European section has laboured under the conditions described since 1936. Nor has the number of non-European students recently undergone a sharp increase which now makes it possible to provide buildings which before were not worth while. This is shown by the following table of the total enrolment of the non-European section of the University of Natal (excluding the medical faculty) over recent years: (74)

1945	.....	174
1947	.....	296
1949	.....	205
1951	.....	146
1953	.....	205

(73) "Help your people"—The Natal University Non-European Section," p. 17.

(74) Figures obtained from the Registrar's office.

During this period no start has been made on permanent buildings for the non-European section, though extensive new buildings have been built for the European students both at Pietermaritzburg and at Durban. The new medical school was, of course, built during this period, but it was paid for almost entirely by the Government,⁽⁷⁵⁾ whereas normally University buildings are subsidised by the Government on a pound-for-pound basis.

These facts are not cited in any spirit of criticism of the authorities of the University of Natal, who have no doubt done the best possible in the circumstances. But they illustrate the tendency which we have mentioned with respect to segregated non-European institutions, and show that the problem is not solved merely by including the non-Europeans under the same administration as the Europeans.

Apart from these considerations, the Natal experiment can no longer be regarded as a serious alternative to complete segregation or non-segregation, for it has created such difficulties in operation that it is very doubtful whether it will be able to be continued even in Natal.

In 1951 a commission of inquiry was set up by the Council of the University of Natal to investigate the organisation of the University and its cost structure, which is higher than that of any other University in the country (according to the report of the Department of Education, Arts and Science for the year 1949, the income per student of the University of Natal for that year amounted to £199.47 per student by contrast with an income of £169.8 for the University of Potchefstroom, the next highest, and an average income of £144.8 per student for the eight South African Universities.)

One of the matters to which the commission gives the greatest attention is the organisation of the non-European section. With regard to the part-time classes, which contain the majority of these students, it states: ⁽⁷⁶⁾

"The academic worth of the work was repeatedly called in question, and the suggestion was put forward that the students would be quite adequately served if they were to enrol in the Division of External Studies of the University of South Africa."

It proceeds to recommend that the part-time classes be abolished. With regard to the effect of the organisation of the non-European section on the University as a whole it states: ⁽⁷⁷⁾

"The dispersal of effort in Durban is far too great and is producing an intolerable strain on many members of staff. Several factors combine to produce this unhealthy state of affairs, the chief among them being the part-time non-European classes, the full-time non-European classes, the part-time European classes and the library organisation."

The commission recommends that the non-European section should be separated entirely from the European section with its own staff and its own library.

Following on this report, the Council of the University issued a statement to the following effect: ⁽⁷⁸⁾

"The Council favours the provision by gradual stages of special staffing for non-European students under the academic control of the responsible departments of the University, but has no intention of discontinuing the facilities at present offered to non-Europeans."

It thus appears that the essential characteristics of the Natal system, the sharing of staff and probably also of library facilities, may be abandoned. If they were, the resulting system, though it would differ from that existing at Fort Hare in respect of the administration, would not be sufficiently distinguishable to be regarded as a serious alternative.

Cost of Segregation

While it seems that there is sufficient evidence to show that, apart from financial considerations, University segregation throughout the country is extremely unlikely to be practicable—that is, assuming the "separate but equal" doctrine is to be followed—it is worth mentioning in passing that attempts to achieve an equitable segregation would involve the State in enormous expenditure of public money.

South African Universities are in a parlous financial position, and the State is unable to afford proper subsidisation of the institutions we already have. Segregation would, quite obviously, involve the duplication of many perfectly satisfactory existing facilities, without diminishing the expenditure of the Universities which provide these facilities at the moment.

As the Senate of the University of Cape Town said in its evidence to the Holloway Commission on University Apartheid:

"The 'European' Universities in South Africa already provide education and training in practically every faculty and departmental activity available in European and American universities. To provide such facilities for the non-Europeans, having regard in particular to their geographical and race-group distribution, implies the need of at least doubling the present expenditure on our Universities in the near future."

This expenditure may well have a damaging effect on the present University institutions. Dr. T. B. Davie (Principal of the University of Cape Town) pointed out this danger in an address to the S.A. Institute of Race Relations in May, 1954:

"The expense of providing the accommodation, equipment and staff for all these separate schemes is not, however, the only financial consideration. . . . The cost of these must inevitably affect adversely the contribution made by the State to the existing Universities. Any contention that this would not be the case would have to account for the persistent restriction of Treasury grants to the Universities over the past ten years, and the present continuing restriction on advances of capital for building."

(75) "Help your people—The Natal University Non-European Section," p. 28.

(76) University of Natal Internal Commission of Enquiry, p. 9.

(77) University of Natal Internal Commission of Enquiry, p. 8.

(78) Press Statement of Policy issued by the University of Natal, 1st February, 1951.

Some Advantages of Non-Segregation

SO far we have considered the purely material, financial and administrative implications of the segregated and non-segregated systems. It has appeared that the non-segregated system is likely to produce better facilities for non-Europeans than segregation. Other things being equal, this would mean that non-segregation was a superior system, for it would produce better graduates. This is desirable not only from the point of view of the graduates themselves, but of society as a whole, for it means a better return on the heavy investment which society makes in higher education.

However, we cannot assume that other things are equal. The quality of an educational system depends by no means entirely on the quality of its material facilities. Psychological and social factors play a role at least as important, perhaps much more so, and these factors must now be considered.

In the first place, it should be noted that neither segregation nor non-segregation can any longer be regarded as an experiment. On the side of non-segregation, there have been some non-Europeans at the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town for at least forty years, and they have been present continuously and in substantial numbers for at least ten years. On the side of segregation, Fort Hare has existed since 1916 and the non-European section of the University of Natal since 1936.

This being so, it is clear that any effects, good or bad, which either system is likely to have, ought by now to have manifested themselves. Thus we do not consider it justifiable to make any assertions regarding the effects of the systems which are not supported by evidence, unless it be in fields where, in the nature of things, concrete evidence cannot be obtained.

The first question we must ask is: do the systems work?

We have already shown that both work in the narrow educational sense, in that they succeed in producing a reasonable proportion of students who pass their examinations and obtain degrees. At the same time it has been seen that, even in this narrow sense, non-European students at segregated centres undergo considerably more inconvenience than those at non-segregated Universities, and have to be content with inferior facilities. We must now consider whether the two systems work in the wider sphere.

The system which must here be examined is non-segregation, for it is the one which is sometimes supposed, by those not having direct experience of it, to be unsatisfactory in practice.

This does not, however, appear to be the opinion of any responsible body which has direct connection with or experience of the working of the system. The Coun-

cils of both the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town, in their evidence to the Holloway Commission on University Apartheid expressed their wish to continue with the system by which their Universities were open to students of all races.

In its evidence to the same commission, the Executive of Convocation of the University of the Witwatersrand stated: (79)

"It is our firm belief that segregation in the Universities is most undesirable for many reasons. . . . The fact that the juxtaposition of European and non-European students has occurred in our University without friction and without the disturbance of racial peace has provided a most valuable example of inter-racial co-operation under the most favourable conditions."

The evidence of the Students' Representative Council of the University of Cape Town to the commission said: (80)

"It cannot be too strongly stressed how overwhelmingly satisfied both the staff and students of U.C.T. have been with academic non-segregation. As those in closest contact with its everyday working, neither staff nor students have ever had cause to regret its application."

In a statement published in December, 1952, Dr. T. B. Davie (Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town) said: (81)

"The University of Cape Town is thus acting strictly within the legal requirement of its Act and statutes when, in conformity with great majority of the universities of the free democratic nations of the world, it wishes to keep its doors open to all who desire to enter it, and who are educationally fitted for its teaching. We have always hoped, and still hope, that the Government of South Africa would leave unmolested our desire to maintain this particular aspect of University ideals."

In a statement published in December, 1953, Professor R. W. James (then acting Principal of the University of Cape Town) said: (82)

"The evil results which Dr. Malan foresees as a result of allowing European and non-European students to attend the same classes, I believe to be wholly imaginary. So far as my own experience goes, it has led to mutual understanding and respect."

(79) Memorandum of Evidence of the Convocation of the University of the Witwatersrand to the Commission of Enquiry into the practicability and financial implications of providing separate training facilities for non-Europeans at Universities," p. 2.

(80) "Evidence submitted on behalf of the students of the University of Cape Town by the Students' Representative Council of that University to the Government Commission of Enquiry into the provision of separate University facilities for non-European students," p. 9.

(81) "Cape Times," 16th December, 1952.

(82) "Cape Argus," 12th December, 1953.

Referring to a statement by the Hon. the Prime Minister in the House of Assembly in August, 1948 that "an intolerable situation" had arisen at the open Universities, Dr. (now Prof.) H. M. Robertson (professor of economics at the University of Cape Town) said at a symposium during the 1949 NUSAS Congress:

"When I read of the 'intolerable situation' in the University of Cape Town, because of the presence there of some non-Europeans, I looked back on the 20 years during which I have been teaching mixed classes at the University, and during which neither Europeans nor non-Europeans had any cause to complain of each other or of their behaviour."

This statement is typical of the opinion of staff members at the open Universities, to judge by many replies received by NUSAS to a circular letter on the subject.

These views appear also to be shared by the great majority of the graduates of the open Universities. In February, 1954, the Convocation of the University of the Witwatersrand addressed a circular to all members of Convocation (i.e. all graduates of the University), asking them to indicate whether they approved of the existing system at the University, or whether they would like it to be changed. Of those who replied almost 80% expressed themselves in favour of the continuation of the existing system.

Finally, it should be noticed that the Carr-Saunders Commission, which considered the system which should be adopted for the higher education of Africans in the Central African Federation, recommended that the non-segregated system should be adopted⁽⁸³⁾ and its recommendation has been followed.

In the face of all this authority, it is hardly possible to doubt that the non-segregated system works satisfactorily in practice.

Not only does the system work, but in our view it has a number of distinct advantages from an educational point of view. The Carr-Saunders Commission report states:⁽⁸⁴⁾

"It is contrary to University tradition to have regard to race, religion or class when selecting candidates for admission."

Having regard to the whole of that part of the world in which the University tradition which was developed in Europe is followed, this is undoubtedly true. And with a few exceptions, it has always been true since Universities first came into existence in the Middle Ages.

Prof. E. E. Harris (professor of philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand) expressed this view in an address to the South African Institute of Race Relations, as follows:⁽⁸⁵⁾

"It is clear, therefore, that the open door (if I may use a phrase with other associations) and freedom of admission to all who can reach the required academic standard, have been the persistent and age-old tradition of the University throughout its history. This is

only natural, as such a policy follows logically from the very nature of a University, properly so called."

Most Universities go further even than this. It is in general their policy not merely to admit students of all types of backgrounds, but to take positive steps to achieve a heterogeneous student body.

We have already mentioned the extent to which Universities throughout the world, including South African Universities, encourage foreign students to study at them, and one further striking example may be cited here. The Government of Australia, despite the fact that, as is well known, the immigration of persons of Asiatic descent into Australia is prohibited, strongly encourages the attendance of Asiatic students at its Universities. The number of these students at present studying in Australia exceeds 1,000.

A Heterogeneous Student Body

This practice of encouraging a heterogeneous student body at Universities is so universal and so ancient that one can scarcely doubt that it is based on some important educational principle. The fundamental purpose of University education is to teach the student the power of independent thought. This is obviously the very basis of all progress in science, in fundamental thought, and in creative work of all kinds. But it is in fact just as important in the more ordinary technical and administrative positions for which University training is desired. The superiority of a man with theoretical training to one with purely practical training lies in his ability to deal with a situation outside his experience. This ability depends as much on the power of independent thought as on any theoretical knowledge. If a person leaves a University lacking this power, he would undoubtedly have done better, from the point of view of his career, to have spent his time gaining practical experience.

The value of a heterogeneous student body in developing this ability in students is very great indeed. The main enemies of independent thought are preconceived habits of thinking and the automatic assumption that the methods, customs or ways of thought to which one is accustomed are the only correct ones. And there is no method of disturbing these preconceptions so effective as intellectual contact with persons of widely differing backgrounds.

The function of a University is not only to educate students. It also seeks, in every sphere of knowledge with which it concerns itself, to make an original contribution to the advancement of knowledge. In this aspect of the work of a University what is essentially the same advantage arises from a heterogeneous student body. Differing points of view are brought to bear on the problems which are being studied, and by that mere fact both staff and students are safeguarded against adopting facile or prejudiced solutions. The importance of this corrective in the study of history and of the social sciences in South Africa is too obvious to require elaboration. Dr. T. B. Davie (Principal of the University of Cape Town) describes this aspect of the question in the following terms:⁽⁸⁶⁾

(83) Carr-Saunders Report, p. 79.

(84) Page 28.

(85) "The Idea of the University,"—S.A. Institute of Race Relations, p. 5.

(86) "The Idea of the University," p. 11.

"The essence of the University is its admission to staff and student ranks of *all* who can appreciate or contribute to its activities—their very differences being a necessary part of the University from which it is expected to derive the greatest good for mankind in general. . . . I am of the opinion that a University in any community is a real and full University only to the extent that within its walls it welcomes and encourages, within reasonable limitations, as wide an admixture of students as possible, in order that by their very difference of race and creed, of background and future prospects, of culture and primitiveness, they contribute to all there gathered that multi-sided consideration of all human problems which alone can form the basis of real knowledge and understanding."

It is clear then that in regard to a major aspect of its functions, a non-segregated University has a great advantage over a segregated one. The advantage benefits both European and non-European students, as well as the community as a whole, for whose benefit the Universities are engaged in the advancement of the frontiers of knowledge. Under present circumstances the advantages are probably greater to the non-Europeans than to Europeans, for a reasonable degree of heterogeneity can be attained in European Universities by the expensive expedient of importing foreign students—something which should in any case be done. But the Government has set its face against any importation of non-European students at all. This means that segregated non-European institutions must be so homogeneous as to be in serious danger of intellectual in-breeding and stagnation.

Effects of Inferior Non-European Schooling

We may turn from this fundamental question to one of educational principle, less fundamental, but in the existing circumstances no less important. A reason sometimes given for why non-Europeans should receive their higher education, at least on the undergraduate level, in separate institutions, is that they are, because of environmental factors and poor schooling, more backward than the European students.⁽⁸⁷⁾

In this form this view is clearly unacceptable, for it is based on the fallacy of equating the performance of individual members of a group with the average performance of the group. It may be true—and probably is—that for the reasons mentioned, the average performance of non-European students is lower than that of European students. But it is not true that all European students are better than all non-European students.

This is sufficiently proved by the fact that while many non-European students pass their examinations every year, many European students fail, and some very badly. There are also cases, not too infrequently, of non-European students achieving outstanding results. Thus in 1953 an Indian student at the University of the Witwatersrand was the first student at the University for many years to complete the courses for the B.A. and B.A. Honours degrees in the same year. To require a student of this calibre to take an extended course or receive

special tuition, or any other special facility which might be offered to non-Europeans to compensate them for poor schooling, would obviously be a serious waste of the time of both student and staff, and the money of both the student or his parents and the University.

On the other hand there are European students who, through poor schooling or cultural background, need very much the same sort of assistance as is often proposed for non-Europeans. It is obvious that there is nothing which a small segregated University or College could offer to non-Europeans in the way of special courses or special individual tuition, which could not equally well be given by a non-segregated University at far less expense, on a basis of the need of the individual student, and not of his race.

It may be noted in passing that the same fallacy underlies the argument used by the University of Natal in favour of segregation⁽⁸⁸⁾, that because the average standard of non-European students is lower than that of European students, racial segregation is necessary in order to prevent the standard of the European classes being lowered. It is true that if the two classes were thrown into one, the average standard would probably be lower than the average standard of the European class. But unless the worst European student was ahead of the best non-European student—which is probably never the case—if the division on racial lines was replaced by a division into two classes on the basis of academic merit, the average standard of the better class would obviously be higher than that of the European class. If, therefore, a University wishes to run separate classes in order to make it possible for the backward students to receive adequate attention without retarding the better students, the only logical way of doing so is to divide the classes, not into European and non-European students, but into better and worse students.

This is not to deny that the majority of non-European students—though not all—come to University with a relatively poor schooling and the relatively poor cultural background which arises from a home where the other members of the family have had little education. If the students are to be turned into first-class University products, the lack from which they suffer must in some way be made up. Poor schooling can perhaps be compensated for by special tuition which segregated or non-segregated Universities are equally well placed to supply. But with regard to the even more important question of general cultural background, there is probably little that the University can do by way of formal teaching. To us there seems to be only one way of supplying general cultural background to a student who lacks it, and that is by allowing him to mix with those who have it.

The point that a comparison of facilities at segregated and non-segregated centres cannot be based only upon a consideration of material or tangible factors has been made forcibly in the United States of America, particularly in the recent Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation.

(87) "Help your people—The Natal University Non-European Section," p. 10.

(88) "Help your people—The Natal University Non-European Section," p. 10.

In particular there has been considerable research in the United States into the psychological effect of segregation on the non-white students. As the U.S.A. is one of the only countries in the world, apart from South Africa, which has had seriously to consider the effects of segregation upon education, and the only one to have had nearly a century's experience of this problem, we feel that we in South Africa can do worse than consider the wealth of experience which American educationists have had.

There are, of course, a number of differences between the two countries. In the first place, the policies of the American and South African Governments in racial matters differ radically. But as our investigation of the American experiences will be confined to a consideration of academic factors, this point becomes irrelevant.

Secondly, the U.S. constitution by its 14th Amendment guarantees the equal protection of the law to all. But although this provision does not exist in South Africa, this point falls away when one remembers the assurances which have been given in this country that separate facilities for non-European students would be—materially at any rate—equal.

The third point of difference is that many of the conclusions reached in America and the legal decisions have been motivated as much by the experiences of school as university education, and the findings have applied to both schools and universities. While school education is totally outside the scope of this handbook, there seems to be no reason, on the other hand, why those arguments which are adduced to challenge school segregation in America should not apply with equal cogency to higher education.

Psychological Factors: U.S. Investigations

The aspect with which most American educationists have been pre-occupied has been the sociological and psychological effects of segregation. Their researches have shown that segregation, however fairly applied, inevitably causes the politically weaker group to feel that it is being discriminated against, and being regarded as inferior.

Thus Prof. A. Davis (professor of education at the University of Chicago) says:⁽⁸⁹⁾

"Studies . . . made during the past ten years at the University of Chicago make it clear that a major factor in the lower performance of Negroes from the south is their feeling of inadequacy and of inferiority. This loss of confidence has been the result of the whole system of segregation . . . which has taught the Negro that he is regarded as inferior in capacity by society."

The "New York Times," referring to a case in South Carolina, says: ⁽⁸⁹⁾

"Witnesses testified that racial segregation injured Negro students by impairing their ability to learn, deterring the development of their personalities, destroying their self-respect, subjecting them to the prejudices of others, and stamping them with the badge of inferiority."

⁽⁸⁹⁾ "New York Times," May 18th, 1954.

Finally, we shall quote a portion of the judgment of the American Supreme Court, which in May, 1954, declared school segregation could not possibly provide equality of education. It is worth noting that a vast amount of educational and sociological evidence was placed before the court to assist it in reaching its decision. The relevant parts of the judgment read:

"Under that" (the "separate but equal") "doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. . . .

"Our decision . . . cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors. . . . We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education. . . .

"We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe it does.

"In *Sweat v. Painter* 399 U.S. 629, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, the court relied in large part on 'those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement, but which make for greatness in a law school.'

"In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma States Regent* 399 U.S. 637, the court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: 'his ability to study, engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and in general to learn his profession.'

"Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications, solely because of their race, generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.

"The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the *Kansas* case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

"Segregation of white and coloured children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the coloured children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group.

"A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation within the law therefore has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children, and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated system.' . . .

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. *Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.*"

Extra-Curricular Activities

One aspect of the University life remains to be considered, namely the extra-curricular activities. These may be divided into four spheres, the sphere of leadership and administration, that of culture, that of sport, and that of purely social activity.

Activities involving leadership and administration can, in the nature of things, occupy only a minority of stu-

dents. But because that minority may well contain people who are going to hold positions of the utmost responsibility in the future, these activities must be regarded as being of the greatest importance.

It is sometimes alleged by those who do not have direct knowledge of the open Universities that the non-European students attending these Universities are in effect debarred from positions of leadership and responsibility; but we have already noticed that this is not true. (See Chapter II.) As the non-Europeans are in a fairly small minority in the student body, so they are in the administrative student bodies. But the individual non-European student has probably as good a chance of rising to a position of responsibility in the student organization at the University of the Witwatersrand as he has at Fort Hare.

As regards the value of the experience gained by students in such positions, the non-segregated University has distinct advantages. Administration or leadership in a heterogeneous body presents a number of very special problems, which in varying forms face all leaders and administrators in South Africa. It is surely as well that students should receive some experience of these problems during their formative years.

Cultural Activity

In the field of extra-curricular cultural activities the advantage is again clearly with the non-segregated institution. As we have already noticed (Chapter II), non-Europeans can and do play a full part in cultural activities at the open Universities, and they benefit from the considerable advantages which necessarily belong to a large institution. There is no reason why their particular group-cultural interests should be neglected because of the heterogeneous character of the University. All large Universities make provision for group-cultural societies catering for Afrikaans students, Jewish students, Catholic students and so on, and with the exception of a few very small groups such as the Chinese, each of the non-European cultural groups at the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town is large enough to support such a society, should the students feel the need for it. At the same time students of all groups have the powerful stimulus to cultural development provided by contact with students of different cultural backgrounds and heritages.

Indeed, as Dr. T. B. Davie (Principal of the University of Cape Town) put it in an address in May, 1954, to the South African Institute of Race Relations:

"Within the University the students will inevitably represent different degrees and types of cultural development, and different religious sects, even in a uni-racial community. In a multi-racial community, the open University has a very particular function to perform. To the extent to which a racial or religious group within the University, to which its members sought entry on the grounds of their common desire to pursue learning, has or desires to express separate

cultural or spiritual features, it is entitled to do so, and should be encouraged to do so. Student societies and associations are the especial expression of this aspect of University life. . . .

"The University's function is to advance the best features of the cultural and spiritual contribution which each racial group can make towards the common good. It is certainly not the function of the University either to impose an alien culture on any race group, nor yet to impede access of that race group to the cultures of other groups."

Sport and Social Activity

In the fields of sport and of purely social activity the advantage does not at present lie with the non-segregated system. As we have noticed (Chapter II), Europeans and non-Europeans at the open Universities do not participate together in sport or in some social functions, and while the numbers of non-Europeans at the Witwatersrand and Cape Town are sufficient to make it possible for them to organise separate sporting and social events, as they do to a limited extent, it is impossible to escape the fact that, as they form a small minority of the student body the activities which they are unable to participate in are those which will appear to them and to others as the activities of the University as a whole.

This is a serious disadvantage, particularly in relation to sport, which forms an important part of the life of a University. But whether it outweighs the advantages already listed will depend on the point of view of each individual student. To some students sport is of primary importance, while to others its importance is negligible. Most non-European students, from our experience, consider the lack of sporting facilities a small price to pay for the academic advantages of an open University.

This disadvantage of the non-segregated system is, therefore, a reason for maintaining in existence institutions where it does not exist, but it is no reason at all for compelling those students who are not particularly worried by it to forgo the advantages of the open Universities. Where, as here, it does not seem possible to attain the ideal system, the solution is surely to keep open to the individual the choice of what disadvantages he will suffer in order to gain the advantages which are most important to him personally. This is exactly what the existing system does.

It should be noted, however, that the disadvantage in regard to sport and social functions arises not from the non-segregated system itself, but from the fact that the non-Europeans are in a small minority. If the positions were reversed, it would be the Europeans who would be at the same disadvantage. In order to maintain the freedom of choice advocated in the last paragraph, it is not necessary that there should be segregated non-European institutions, but merely that there should be institutions catering primarily for non-Europeans. Such institutions could, by attracting a minority of European students, gain all the advantages of non-segregation.

University Non-Segregation in Relation to South African Society

WE have now concluded our consideration of the merits of segregation and non-segregation from a purely educational point of view. But the question cannot be left at that. The educational system operates in society, and its merits depend not only on the general principles which we have already considered, but also on the effect which it has on the society in which it operates. We must therefore consider the merits of the segregated and non-segregated systems also in relation to South African society as a whole.

It is sometimes contended that non-segregation cannot be continued because it is an anomaly, because it is out of step with the rest of the social system of South Africa which is mainly based on segregation. In our submission, however, this argument has no substance. No social system is entirely consistent, and in so far as social institutions are based not on fundamental moral principles, but on expediency—which is the case to a very large extent—there is no reason why it should be. There is no principle in our society that does not have exceptions, neither the right to private enterprise nor the sanctity of private property, nor individual liberty, nor the right of access to the courts, nor even the principle that a man is presumed innocent until he is proved guilty. If, therefore, on the merits of the case it is found to be better that the non-segregated system should continue, the fact that it would constitute an exception to a general rule is no argument to the contrary, even if the general rule be accepted as correct.

Unacceptable to S.A. Public

It is sometimes said, arguing on rather similar lines, that the non-segregated system is wrong because it is contrary to the social *mores* of the European people of South Africa. This argument also cannot be accepted. The non-segregated system has existed for at least forty years, and the two Universities which practice it have grown to be the two largest in the country. Throughout that period they have received the financial support of successive governments and of the public, who have also continued sending their sons and daughters to them. The Universities are controlled by Councils which consist of representatives of the graduates of the University, its professors, the Government, City Councils and other public bodies. It is hardly conceivable that bodies so composed could have maintained over a prolonged period of years a system which was fundamentally unacceptable to public opinion, even though it was highly desirable from an academic point of view that they should do so.

From all this, it is quite clear that non-segregation is not contrary to the social *mores* of that section of the

European population from which the open Universities draw the great bulk of their support. Many of these people may approve of segregation in other spheres. But if this is so, they no doubt consider that the advantages of making an exception in this case outweighs the disadvantages.

Nor is it contrary to the social *mores* of the section of the non-European people who are in a position to avail themselves of higher education, for the non-Europeans have consistently supported the open universities as far as they have been able.

It is true, of course, that non-segregation is seriously unacceptable to certain sections of the Europeans, and perhaps—though we have no particular reason to suppose this—to some non-Europeans too. That may well be a valid reason for maintaining some segregated institutions, but it is certainly not a reason for curtailing existing open institutions.

"Social Evils" Feared

It is sometimes stated by those who are concerned to attack the non-segregated system that it either does or inevitably will in the future lead to "social evils." This is usually put forward not as a serious intellectual argument, but as an appeal to prejudice, without any clear indication of what is meant or of the evidence on which the allegations are supposed to be based. In so far as this allegation does in fact refer to anything, it is to the view that the non-segregated system has led or will inevitably lead to unrestricted social mixing, particularly at dances and similar functions and ultimately, presumably, to mixed marriages.

The suggestion that these things have already happened is not true. We have already noticed what the social practices are at the Universities, and although these practices are criticised by some of the students, they are universally observed. With regard to the idea that non-segregation is likely to produce mixed marriages, it is worthy of note that the non-segregated system existed for about forty years while mixed marriages were perfectly legal in South Africa, yet the opponents of non-segregation have not yet cited one case in all this time of a mixed marriage which can be attributed to it.

Perhaps they have been unable to do so because of a factor which they have neglected to take into account: that is that group-consciousness in such matters as the choice of one's life partner is as strong among Africans as it is among Europeans.

The view that the development of these things in the future is "inevitable" is clearly not sensible. The only reason that is ever advanced for it is that the present system of non-segregation in most spheres with segregation in certain defined social spheres "cannot be maintained." The fact is, however, that it has been maintained for forty years, and an argument based on the contention that something which has been done for forty years is impossible cannot be taken very seriously.

This is not to say, of course, that the present demarcation line between segregation in some spheres and non-segregation in others will necessarily continue just where it is at present, nor do we necessarily consider that it should do. However, it seems to us highly unlikely that the practice of the Universities will ever go beyond what public opinion among all the sections from which the students are drawn can approve. Even should student opinion move very much in advance of general public opinion, it is most unlikely that the governing bodies of the Universities, composed as they are, would permit social practices which were highly objectionable to any major section of the public from which students of the Universities are drawn.

It is our view therefore that the fears expressed about the alleged evils of social mixing are largely illusory. Even were this not so, however, the wisdom of basing an educational policy for all students on what is after all a matter of personal relationships between individual students is open to grave doubt. As Dr. T. B. Davie (Principal of the University of Cape Town) has said: (90)

"Social relationships are determined on a personal basis, and are not successfully or satisfactorily achieved by legislation, academic or civic. Social distinctions will continue as long as human beings exhibit different individual traits and potentialities. For this reason it behoves the civic or other authorities to remove discriminatory forces, and to leave social adjustments to the tastes and desires of its peoples."

Effect on Race Relations

The most important question relating to the desirability of the non-segregated system in the total social context of South Africa remains to be considered. This is its effect on the attitudes of members of the different racial groups to each other, and consequently to the other racial groups as a whole. We have noted already (Chapter VIII) that it is the practically unanimous opinion of those who are in a position to judge, that the mixing of students of different races does not lead to conflict or friction, and we can affirm this very strongly from our own experience.

Where people of differing backgrounds meet together without conflict, the result is necessarily a greater understanding and appreciation of each other's point of view, and a reduction of irrational antagonism. This is general experience of the results of bringing persons from differing groups together in a context of equality

and in the absence of conflict. The most exhaustive research into this question was done by Dr. E. G. Malherbe (Principal of the University of Natal) in relation to the effect of mixing Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking children in schools. The results of the investigation of the attitudes of 18,000 school children towards the other group were correlated. (91)

The percentage of students attending various types of schools who showed a "decided" or "excessive" antagonism towards the other language group was:

<i>Type of School</i>		
Unilingual urban Afrikaans medium	.....	37%
Unilingual rural Afrikaans medium	.....	38%
Unilingual English medium	.....	27%
Bilingual medium	.....	20%

Considering these results, Dr. Malherbe writes: (92)

"The main fact that stands out in the above figures is the relatively low index of sectional discrimination (20%) registered in the bilingual school in comparison with the unilingual school, particularly on the Afrikaans side. This fact disposes in a definite way of the theory often advanced in categorical terms by advocates of the unilingual school, that if one mixes the two sections in one school one aggravates the antipathies which these children bring from their homes."

It is true, of course, that the cultural differences between Europeans and non-Europeans are wider than the differences between Afrikaans- and English-speaking Europeans, but there is no reason to assume that the same principles will not apply. In fact evidence points to the conclusion that they do. Prof. I. D. MacCrone (professor of psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand) has carried out extensive investigations into the attitudes of European students at the University of the Witwatersrand towards Africans. The following figures represent the average attitudes of students tested, divided into three groups. The lower figures indicate an increasingly favourable attitude towards the Africans: (93)

<i>Year</i>	<i>English-Speaking</i>	<i>Afrikaans-Speaking</i>	<i>Jewish</i>
1934	5.19	6.71	4.88
1936	5.14	6.72	4.65
1938	5.11	6.55	4.28
1940	5.10	6.75	4.07
1942	4.79	6.60	3.68
1944	4.52	6.40	3.21

The steady improvement in the attitude of the two groups other than the Afrikaans-speaking becomes highly significant, when it is remembered that it coincided with a steady increase in the number of non-Europeans attending the University. The sharp increase in the number of non-European students at the beginning of the war, when it became impossible for them to go overseas to study, corresponds with a marked increase in the rate of improvement of the attitudes of the European student towards the Africans. This strongly

(91) E. G. Malherbe: "The Bilingual School," p. 62.

(92) "The Bilingual School," p. 83.

(93) "Race Attitudes, an Analysis and Interpretation," Chap. 33 of "The Handbook of Race Relations in South Africa"—S.A. Institute of Race Relations.

(90) Address to S.A. Institute of Race Relations, May, 1954.

supports the view that the principle enunciated by Dr. Malherbe does apply as between Europeans and non-Europeans at the Universities.

Evidence for the same view is provided by the experience of many of those in a position to judge. In the United States, the President's Committee on Civil Rights, which reported in October, 1947, has this to say:

"Experience demonstrates that segregation is an obstacle to establishing harmonious relationships between groups. It proves that where the artificial barriers which divide people and groups from one another are broken, tension and conflict begin to be replaced by co-operative effort. . . ."

"Segregation increases Suspicion, Distrust and Hostility"

Discussing the findings of sociologists in America, the writer of an article in the "New York Times" says: (94)

"Segregation leads to a blockage in the communications and inter-action between two groups. Such blockages tend to increase mutual suspicion, distrust and hostility. Segregation . . . leads to a social climate within which violent breaks of racial tension are likely to occur."

But we need go no further than the experiences of educationists and students in this country. We have already noted that Prof. R. W. James (then Acting Principal of the University of Cape Town) said in 1953: (95)

"As far as my own experience goes, it (viz. non-segregation) has led to mutual understanding and respect."

Dr. Davie (Principal of the University of Cape Town) remarked in an address to the South African Institute of Race Relations on 1st May, 1954: (96)

"In the open Universities the great majority (though by no means all) of the non-European students become keen on co-operation with the Europeans for the general good of both races. The tendency in the segregated (non-Europeans) institutions towards "anti-white" and other subversive activities and organisations is real, and becoming steadily more obvious."

A resolution of the Students' Representative Council of the University of Cape Town, passed on 23rd February, 1953, contains the following statement:

"As a highly successful experiment in race relations, academic non-segregation has stood the test of years and has led to nothing but a better racial understanding, tolerance and harmony."

In its evidence to the Holloway Commission on University Apartheid, the Senate of the University of Cape Town says:

"In a country with multi-racial problems, it is obvious that the more the groups know of and under-

stand each other, the better chance is there of amicable settlement of differences, and of co-operation and trust . . . such knowledge and understanding undoubtedly accrue from the daily academic contacts in open universities such as Wits. or Cape Town. . . . Experience in other parts of the world, as also the present attitude of the non-European students at Fort Hare, have shown that to separate young human beings into two camps in which one group believes it is being discriminated against as against the other, is to foster discord and to breed suspicion and hatred to such an extent as to invalidate any claim to a satisfactory state of practicability."

And finally, and most recently, in a newspaper article, Mr. S. R. Denny writes on behalf of the Inaugural Board of the Rhodesia University College: (97)

"It is not possible financially, nor is it desirable socially, to have two colleges. Race relations are happier in a joint college than in separate ones. The chief problem in the Federation is the racial one, and the best solution of the problem is to be found by working from the top. Association of the two races at the highest level is the only way of making that association normal at all levels."

We conclude, therefore, that non-segregation definitely tends to a promotion of harmony and understanding between Europeans and non-Europeans and that it has this effect on both groups. Professor MacCrone's figures show that its power to do so is limited in the face of strongly entrenched group attitudes, but this does not alter the main fact.

Non-Segregation and "Colour Consciousness"

Sometimes the non-segregated system is attacked on account of this very effect, for it is alleged that it is leading to the "break-down of colour consciousness." This may or may not be true, depending on whether "colour consciousness" is purely a figment of irrational prejudice, or whether it has a fundamental basis in real differences between groups. The only effect which contact between members of different groups can have is to show them what members of the other group are really like. By doing so it must destroy prejudices which are not based on fact, but equally it cannot fail to accentuate consciousness of any differences that are real and important.

Essentially what non-segregation does is to put the students in a position to base their attitude towards members of the other race on facts which they can observe for themselves, instead of on prejudice. We cannot believe that the effect of this—from any point of view—can be anything but good. Whatever may be the lines along which one believes that the racial problems facing South Africa will ultimately be solved, the solution will surely not be reached on a basis of ignorance rather than of knowledge, nor will it be hastened by keeping those whose task it will ultimately be to try to solve it, from gaining first-hand knowledge of its fundamental basis.

(94) "New York Times," May 18th, 1954.

(95) "Cape Argus," December 12th, 1953.

(96) "The Idea of a University," p. 18.

(97) "Cape Argus," November 23rd, 1954.

Education and Race Relations in South Africa

S.A. Institute of Race Relations Hoernlé Memorial Lecture, 1955

by Dr. T. B. Davie (Principal of the University of Cape Town)

Delivered January 17th, 1955.

Abridged

ACCORDING to the concepts prevalent in our western democracies, a university is essentially a gathering of persons whose object is the search for the truth. It aims at the pursuit, preservation, and dissemination of learning, and it seeks knowledge for its own sake, irrespective of its apparent usefulness or otherwise. It demands of all who foregather under its wing absolute intellectual integrity; it prizes scholarship and research as the major requirements of those who work within its walls, and it fights at all times to secure the fullest measure possible of academic freedom, in the atmosphere of which experience has shown that learning flourishes best.

The "universality" of the university is in general regarded as one of its basic requirements. Its doors should at all times be open to everyone who can benefit by or contribute to its teaching. Its desire for freedom from interference is primarily directed to what is taught, but is inextricably bound up also with who shall teach and who shall be taught.

The modern university is, however, not divorced from the realities of the modern state. Its own requirements for enquiry and research are such that it spends annually large sums of money in order to be able to function efficiently. This money cannot be expected entirely from the students who come seeking knowledge, and it must therefore be obtained from other private or state sources. In return for this financial support the university undertakes to safeguard the state in providing the training for and ensuring the intellectual standards of the men and women who enter the learned professions or undertake the higher levels of its public service.

Responsibility to the State

This responsibility to the state is taken seriously in those countries where the political set-up is that referred to as western democracy. In these countries the state avoids interference with the policies and practice of the universities directed towards the ideals expressed above.

This, however, is not true of all other countries, nor yet is it always entirely true even in countries which have obviously adopted the ideals of western democracy. In Germany under Hitler the universities ceased claiming their right to academic freedom and instead acquiesced in state control of staff, admissions, and curriculum. Staff and students whose antecedents failed to evince the pure Nordic line of descent were excluded from the universities and a gruesome phase of indoctrination in the policy of the *Herrenvolk* was inaugurated, which completely altered the content of the teaching and the standard of the education of the universities.

Similarly, in Russia today the political tenets of communism are imprinted by indoctrination on all the young men and women who pass through the Russian universities.

In these countries, and this is probably true also of many other countries, including all behind the Iron Curtain, the main function of the university was changed from that of the search for truth to one of training for the state. The ideals of academic freedom and intellectual integrity were rejected in favour of inculcating the concept of the over-riding claims of the state and the blind submission of the individual to its ideologies.

Where do the South African universities stand? Are they ranged on the side of those whose aim is the search for truth for its own sake and who base their practices on the ideals of complete academic freedom and an open door, or have they adopted as their aim the training of youth for service to the state and is their practice in respect of staff, students, and curricula governed by this ideal? This is a fundamental question.

Differences between English and

Afrikaans Universities

It is undoubtedly true that there is a great difference of opinion between the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking sections on the educational policy generally, and while it is generally true that these differences of viewpoint are essentially between two groups of whites, there can be little doubt that they have already affected the race relations between Europeans and non-Europeans.

It must be made clear from the outset that there is nothing inviolably virtuous in the one ideal of the functions of a university as compared with the other. It is in the working out of these ideals and policies that the potentialities for good or evil are evinced.

The search for truth for its own sake is a high ideal. It can, however, only too easily lead to the inculcation of an attitude of divorcement from the realities of life against which can only be set the high sense of responsibility the university is called upon to exercise in meeting its debt to the people and to the state. Training for service to the state is no mean ideal. Service to God, to the community, to fellow man—all these are upheld as laudable in the highest sense. Why not, then, "service to the state"?

The "state," however, can and often does come to be interpreted as the organization designed to further the interests of that section of the people which for the time being is politically in power, rather than the organization which works for the welfare of all its people by ensuring the rights and liberties of each of its individuals. Whenever there is reason to believe that service to the state means service to a sectional ideology, then the acceptance of training for such service as the ideal of function of the university is fraught with risks of a serious nature.

Wherever universities have adopted training for service

to the state as their function, there have been found discriminations against persons (staff and students) on grounds associated with ideologies, and there have appeared too perversions of the truth in content of teaching which possibly at first were no more than undue stresses of sectionally significant aspects, but which have often developed into gross and flagrant exercises of indoctrination for palpably ideological interests.

It is significant that whereas in the English-medium universities the open door policy in relation to South Africa's non-Europeans is operative to some extent in each of the four, there is complete and rigid exclusion of the non-European as staff or student in all four of the Afrikaans-medium universities. This may be nothing more than an expression of that university autonomy which all universities seek in the management of their finances and administration; but when it is linked, as is the case, with a publicly pronounced, party-political, governmental policy, then it may justifiably be regarded as evidence that these four universities do not regard as essential to their well-being the continual striving towards the ideals of universality.

Student Differences

This difference of policy in relation to admission of non-Europeans to our universities is not confined to the Councils, Senates, and staff associations of the universities: it extends also to the student bodies. As far back as 1924 the students of all the universities and university colleges then in being created, through their representative councils, a National Union of South African Students (N.U.S.A.S.) which for many years operated successfully in the interests of students generally. Since 1933, however, one after the other, the Afrikaans-medium universities have disaffiliated themselves and have joined a new and separate organization, Die Afrikaanse Studentebond (A.S.B.). Repeated efforts on the part of N.U.S.A.S. during the last six or seven years to effect a reconciliation have all broken down eventually on the one point, viz., the demand from the Afrikaans-medium universities that all non-Europeans should be excluded from membership or at least from all student congresses, though a concession was suggested whereby conferences at the executive level might be attended by non-Europeans, provided they represented their own race groups only.

It is abundantly apparent, therefore, that there are fundamental differences in ideal and policy between the two groups of universities. There are too many grave issues at stake in this schism between the two sections of South Africans, and no ultimate good will come from keeping silent in the hope that everything will eventually work out well. To baulk the issue now by pretending to be unaware of the consequences is to invite disaster even worse than what may follow a frank discussion.

The difference between the ideals and policies of the two groups of universities, and it largely expresses the differences between the ideologies of the two main political groups in South Africa, is serious enough in its possible effects on the universities, but its effects extend much further afield. It determines also the educational policy of the whole country from infant school through primary to secondary and high school, and furthermore does so too in respect of all non-European education.

There can be little doubt that it is the intention of the framers of the Bantu Education Act that the education of the African child shall be different from that of the European and, further, that this difference shall establish and perpetuate an inferior status in the African in relation to the European. The education of the child is

therefore not intended to stimulate the development of its intellect and character, but to prepare it for a certain service to the state: a service which is primarily that of servant of the Europeans, and secondly one which carries with it no promise of advancement towards the eventual social and political status which he covets in order to benefit to the full under western democracy.

Since this trend is to be given to the education of the African child from the time he first enters school, it will obviously affect also the type of education to be provided in the upper standards of the primary school, as well as the curriculum of the high school. The obvious tendency will be towards technical schooling at the high school stage and towards practical handicrafts and commercial and agricultural training before that, and these will not be without great value to the African. The result of his schooling will be of immediate and obvious benefit to him and to his people, but the change or stress will only be justified if the child with the ability and the bent for education in the humanities and sciences as we teach them to the European child, is not thereby deprived of his right to knowledge. Particularly does this become important for the African child whose intellectual abilities fit him for university education.

The university outlook for the African student under the Bantu Education Act is much more uncertain. There is no specific directive concerning scope or content of curriculum, but the chances of fostering that eager zest for knowledge which is the hallmark of the real and best candidates for university education will be slight indeed. The mentally depressing effect of the atmosphere surrounding the indoctrination of the master-servant relationship cannot but suppress most of the aspirations of the potential scholar and produce a sense of embittered frustration in those who, surviving the primary and high schools, enter the universities.

Outlook Depressing

The educational outlook for the non-European in South Africa cannot therefore be regarded as other than depressing. Recent legislation and the opinions and projects propounded by those claiming to be in sympathy with the government when giving evidence before commissions investigating educational facilities, practice, and policy, all indicate a desire and determination to provide for the non-European only such educational facilities as, in the opinion of these paedagogic experts, will fit him for service of the white man in a strictly limited range of industrial and agricultural activities.

The immediate reaction of the non-European to such a policy will obviously be one of the strongest opposition on the part of those among them who have themselves been students in mixed or European universities. Among the non-academic non-Europeans there might be some tendency to welcome anything which could improve their chances of higher education through the necessity for establishing new and additional institutions. There can, however, be little doubt that the over-all reaction will be one of the deepest disappointment arising from frustrated hopes. Such is already the reaction of a high proportion of the non-European students in the segregated colleges of Fort Hare and Sastri (Durban), and this attitude will almost certainly spread if the outcome of the Education Act is the adoption of a university policy which accentuates the segregational features of present university practice.

On the other hand, if the policy adopted is the continuance of the present practice of permitting certain

universities to admit non-Europeans on a basis of academic equality with all other students, then we must face the fact that the numbers of non-Europeans seeking and meriting admission to the universities will rise in the easily foreseeable future. The question arises whether the excellent, friendly relations between the European and the non-European student which exist today will continue when the proportion of non-white to white approaches or exceeds equality. I do not believe that anyone can answer that question with any degree of certainty, but experience elsewhere and world trends in race relationships in other countries indicate that these things are taken in their stride by the students, and that there is little or no antipathy among them to such developments.

I am afraid we must admit that despite the very good intentions of many of the members of the universities, it must be apparent that the divergence of policies between the Afrikaans-medium and English-medium universities is, to say the least, not conducive to any easing of racial tensions. Furthermore, if we are honest with ourselves, we must also admit that these differences are of such fundamental character that there is very little hope of *rapprochement* between the two sections. It is because of this that I recommend that such solution as is sought through education must start at the other end of the scale: in the infant school, not in the universities.

Mother-Tongue Instruction

In the schools today the policy of mother tongue instruction is leading to an increasing number of unilingual schools. There can be little doubt that this separation of the English-speaking from the Afrikaans-speaking children is, more than any other single factor, responsible for keeping alive the animosities and divergencies between the two sections. The young children of our two peoples have no inherent antipathy to each other, and if brought together without previous indoctrination will mix on a basis of absolute equality and mutual acceptance of each other. The unilingual school prevents this mixing and thus not only reduces greatly the opportunities for bilingualism, but also provides the fertile field for misunderstanding.

The fact that the unilingual school can be claimed to have a sound paedagogic and psychological basis is conceded and agreed all round. But it is well to remember that mother tongue instruction, while obviously desirable, is not therefore necessarily the best in the interests of South Africa. In this land of ours which rightly has two official languages, it might well be claimed that every child has two home languages and, if we acted on this, then dual or parallel-medium schools should be the ideal aimed at.

Earlier I said that the universities really could do little toward relaxing the present state of tension between the two groups. There is, however, something they can do, which might well make a tremendous difference. They could take a stand against all measures of coercion in the educational fields, and they could do this in the knowledge that thereby they would be implementing the recognized policy of universities throughout the western democracies.

The imposition of the will of one group on another is apt to be a boomerang in effect, and when the coercive measures affect issues of such fundamental nature as the relationship between racially or nationally (linguistically)

different groups, then it will inevitably lead to bitterness and hatred. This danger not only threatens; it is here already. In the universities it is therefore our high duty and solemn responsibility henceforth to inculcate in our students that toleration to ideas which characterizes the really educated man and that ideal of rendering available the whole of knowledge to every one who can benefit by it, which was adopted as the theme for the tercentenary celebrations recently observed by Columbia University of New York—"Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use thereof."

So much of the difference between the English-medium and the Afrikaans-medium universities is based on and centres around the application or rejection of academic equality for non-European students, that it is in my opinion quite unrealistic at present to hope for any common policy or any approach towards conformity of practice. It is for this reason that it is desirable to recognize that the two streams are firmly entrenched today and that therefore improvement will only follow the exercise of toleration of each group towards the other's point of view. For this it is, perhaps unexpectedly, essential that each group shall enunciate its academic ideals. The desire, or at least the tendency, to enforce the anti-colour discriminatory policy of the Afrikaans-medium universities on all the English-medium institutions is the direct outcome of confusion based on the unexamined assumption that the universities are similar, with similar aims, and should therefore have similar policies.

It is possible that this two-stream policy of South Africanism will be rejected in fact if not by proclamation. In that case, the future outlook for the English-medium university, and in fact for all English-speaking South Africans, is dark indeed. There is, however, still hope that a majority of those who control the destinies of the Afrikaans-medium section will recognize that such a two-stream policy is not incompatible with the fullest development of Afrikanerdom, and in fact that in such an atmosphere of toleration the true Afrikaner nationalism stands to gain more than now, when it has quite unnaturally assumed a rapacious, dominating urge to enforce its ideals on others.

Two Requests Made

Within the universities I believe that not only is this possible because education, if it means anything at all, should lead to judgments free of bias and, to that extent, productive of toleration, but also because the concept of university autonomy, in respect of finance, practice, and even policy, is common to both types of university, and within that concept each university concedes to all others their inalienable right to adopt whatever line of action they choose within limitations set by the laws of the country.

For these reasons and with an optimism which I hope is not merely wishful thinking, I continue to make my two requests concerning the policy of non-European university education, viz., (a) that each university be allowed to decide on and develop its own policy in relation to the admission and academic privileges of its students and (b) that when planning for the further university needs of the socially and educationally awakened non-Europeans of our country, the facilities provided should be additional and not alternative to those now available.

University Apartheid Commission:

Summary of Findings

WHILE this publication was being printed, the report of the Holloway Commission on University Apartheid was tabled in the House of Assembly (February, 1955).†

The Commission consisted of Dr. J. E. Holloway (former Secretary for Finance) as chairman, Dr. R. W. Wilcocks (former rector of the University of Stellenbosch) and Dr. E. G. Malherbe (principal of the University of Natal).

Its terms of reference were "to investigate and report on the practicability and financial implications of providing separate training facilities for non-Europeans at universities." Considerations of the desirability of academic segregation and of the principle of university independence at stake were thus specifically excluded from its mandate.

Nevertheless, as the commission reports in paragraph 8, it did consider desirability in so far as it was relevant to practicability.

A summary of the commission's findings follows. The numbers cited refer to the relevant paragraphs of the report.

University Autonomy

In theory the state is competent to compel universities to admit all races, or to prohibit them from doing so. In practice under a democratic system it does not lightly do so (33, 34).

The question to be determined is whether, having regard to the general welfare of the community, the introduction of restrictions would be desirable (37). This should be examined on its merits; broad social considerations, as well as those peculiar to the universities, should be taken into account (38).

Careful consideration should be given to the possible deleterious effect of restrictions on autonomy on the status of South African universities in academic circles abroad (39).

Academic Freedom

The progress of science is dependent on the freedom to search for the truth (42). But academic freedom also

includes the freedom to communicate acquired knowledge and hypotheses to others. To the extent to which a research worker or thinker is prevented from imparting his findings to others, the dissemination of knowledge and its useful application are repressed. A university's freedom to communicate knowledge to others connotes the freedom of students to receive information (43).

Restrictions should be introduced with the utmost circumspection, and in the most serious cases (45).

If separate facilities were substantially equal, there would be no clashing with academic freedom (48).*

Separate Institutions Attached to U.C.T. and Wits

The average number of non-Europeans in courses other than medicine is only two at U.C.T. and fewer at Wits (64). The duplication of existing classes would be unsatisfactory. The expenditure per non-European student would be inordinately high, and the extra burden on personnel would undermine the quality of the work (67).

At the University of Natal, where this type of segregation exists, the commission found that segregation cost the university in salaries alone £27,000 per annum (72). This excludes the medical faculty, which cost £65,000 in 1954 (73).

The amount would be much greater, says the commission, if the training facilities at Natal were expanded to meet the need (72).

It concludes that this type of segregation at Wits and U.C.T. would be impracticable (76).

Two or More Segregated Non-European Universities

The same objections apply as to the former suggestion. Enormous expenditure could only be avoided by providing inferior facilities to those at present enjoyed at the open universities (77).

Various suggestions for partial segregation within Wits and U.C.T. were rejected as unfeasible—mainly because

†Report of the Commission of Enquiry on Separate Training Facilities for non-Europeans at Universities—obtainable from the Government Printer, Pretoria and Cape Town, 2/6.

*This argument neglects the intangible factors, the importance of which we have stressed in Chapter VIII.

of practical and administrative difficulties, and the fact that they would depend for their success on the co-operation of universities opposed to segregation (85, 86, 88).

One Non-European University

If a single large university were established de novo for non-Europeans, to cater eventually for 2,500 students, and to provide facilities equal to those at the open universities, it would cost 2½ to 3 million pounds. This would also mean the abandonment of Fort Hare and the Durban medical school, on which large sums have already been spent (91).

Concentration of Non-Europeans at Fort Hare and Natal

Fort Hare and the non-European section of the University of Natal could not at present absorb the non-European students from the open universities, because: (a) the open universities provide several main lines of study which Fort Hare and Natal do not; (b) the staff at Durban are already overburdened by the duplication of lectures, without the immigration of additional non-European students; (c) apart from the medical faculty, facilities for non-Europeans at Natal are "inadequate and very unsatisfactory," and (d) Fort Hare has accommodation for only a few more students (3).

The commission estimated the capital costs for providing for non-Europeans from the open universities at £1,000 per student at Natal, and slightly more at Fort Hare (94).

Findings of the Commission

The most financially practicable scheme would be to concentrate non-Europeans gradually at Fort Hare and Natal (95). Only such facilities which prepare non-Europeans for careers in which there are prospects of a livelihood should be provided (97).

Where such prospects are restricted, this does not, however, connote their total absence. Exceptions would have to be made to segregation, to enable non-Europeans to take a number of main lines of study at the open universities, which would not be available at Natal and Fort Hare (103). This would apply particularly to post-graduate courses (104).

The Coloured Students

Coloured students, who form the majority of non-European students at Cape Town, should be allowed to continue their non-segregated studies, both because they live mainly in the Western Cape, and because of their closer cultural affinity to the European than the Bantu (105).

Cost of Segregation

Non-Europeans are less able to contribute financially to their own universities than Europeans, both by way of tuition fees and donations (106, 107). Hence the state would have to subsidize non-European institutions on a far more liberal scale than at present is the case with the European or mainly European universities (108). This raises the question whether the subsidies available to the latter universities may not be seriously prejudiced (109).

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Acknowledgments

THE NUSAS Executive would like to express its very deep gratitude to the Registrars of the Universities of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand, and Natal, the Librarians of Wits, U.C.T., Natal University and Fort Hare, and to the Dean of the Medical Faculty at Natal University, for their kindness in supplying us with much of the information contained herein; to Mr. Michael O'Dowd, our former President, for collating the information and writing this booklet on our behalf; to Dr. T. B. Davie and Dr. P. V. Tobias for their kind forewords; to Mr. P. Oliver, who designed our cover; to those students who assisted in collecting advertisements, particularly to Mr. Dennis Newman; to Mr. Ken Davidson and the staff of Castle Printing Works, and Mr. J. Clayton and his type-setting staff; and to our advertisers, without whose support it would not have been possible to publish this handbook.

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About NUSAS

THE National Union of South African Students, which was founded in 1924, includes most of the university students in South Africa, as well as members from a number of non-university post-matriculant institutions.

Its membership is open to "all post-matriculant students, irrespective of race, colour or creed, at universities, university colleges, teachers' training colleges, and such other colleges and organised bodies of students as the Student Assembly may from time to time admit."

NUSAS is governed, through its Student Assembly, as a federation of constituent Students' Representative Councils. The following institutions are affiliated to the National Union:

University of Cape Town.
University of the Witwatersrand.
Rhodes University.
University of Natal (Durban)—European section.
University of Natal (Durban)—Non-European section.
University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg).
Pius XIIth. University College, Basutoland.
Johannesburg Training College.
Natal Training College.
Cape Town Training College.
Grahamstown Training College.
Bantu Normal College, Pretoria.
Witwatersrand Nursery School Teachers' College.
Barkly House Training College, Cape Town.
Cape Peninsula Pharmaceutical Students' Association.
Transvaal Pharmaceutical Students' Association.
NUSAS branch at the University of Stellenbosch.
NUSAS branch at the University of Pretoria.

Notable absentees from NUSAS are Fort Hare University College, which disaffiliated in 1952, and the four Afrikaans-medium Universities of Stellenbosch, Pretoria, the Orange Free State, and Potchefstroom, which broke away in the 1930's to form their own cultural organisation, the Afrikaanse Studentebond.

The objects of NUSAS are:

- (1) To represent the students of South Africa nationally and internationally, and to maintain their co-operation with the students of other countries.
 - (2) To defend democracy in student affairs and in the Universities.
 - (3) To maintain and further genuine co-operation, in a spirit of tolerance, goodwill and mutual respect, among all students.
 - (4) To uphold the right of all students to meet, assemble and study together on a basis of academic equality.
 - (5) To promote the educational and general interests of students.
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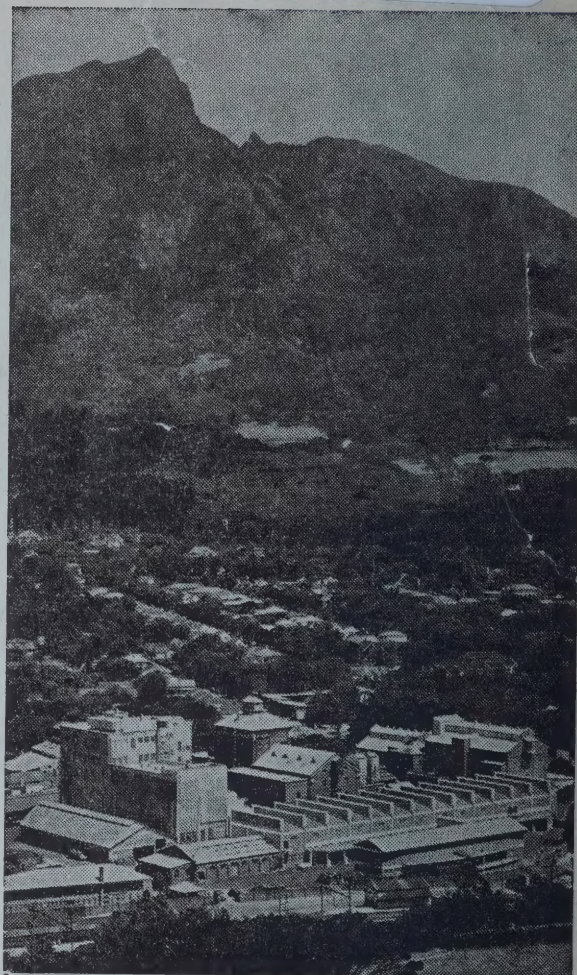
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